

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

CHARLES DEANE.

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

CHARLES C. SMITH.



Charles W. Upham.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

1876-1877.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS volume contains a selection from the proceedings of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, beginning with the monthly meeting in October, 1876, and ending with the monthly meeting in December, 1877. By a vote of the Society, the stated meetings for July, August, and September, 1877, were omitted.

Three portraits illustrate the volume: That of our late distinguished associate, the Rev. Charles Wentworth Upham, finely executed on steel, to accompany the Memoir of him by Dr. Ellis, is placed at the beginning of the volume. This was generously furnished by the family of the deceased. That of Colonel William Henshaw, a heliotype, copied from an oil painting, kindly placed at the disposal of the Society by his grand-daughter, Miss H. E. Henshaw, is given at page 65, to accompany the Memoir of him written by Professor Washburn as a preface to the Orderly Book of Colonel Henshaw, published in this volume. A portrait of the lamented Ex-Governor John H. Clifford, also a heliotype, presented by his family, is prefixed to the Memoir of him by the President of the Society, at page 368.

On page 364 will be found a blank certificate as "an Inlisted Montross," or under-gunner, "at his Majesty's North Battery, in Boston," struck from the plate in the possession of the Society. It was engraved by Paul Revere. It has a picture of the North Battery, Christ Church, and Bunker Hill. At the same page will be seen a certificate as "an Inlisted Montross, at his Majesty's South Battery, in Boston." This has a picture of the South Battery, Fort Hill, &c. This latter certificate is a heliotype, taken from an engraving kindly submitted for the Society's use by the Essex Institute of Salem. A *fac-simile* of a letter of Phillis Wheatley, the negro-slave poet of Boston, taken from the original letter in the Society's possession, is placed at page 386.

CHARLES DEANE,

For the Committee.

Boston, March 15, 1878.

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OFFICERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ELECTED APRIL 11, 1877.

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WINSLOW WARREN, LL.B. DEDHAM.

* Mr. Quincy died in May following, and Mr. Deane was chosen Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

† Mr. Parkman declined to serve, and Mr. Frothingham was chosen in his place.

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AT THE DATE OF THE PUBLICATION OF THIS VOLUME, IN THE ORDER OF
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MEMBERS DECEASED.

Resident, Honorary, and Corresponding Members who have died since the publication of the List of Members in Vol. I. of the Belknap Papers, December 1, 1876; or of whose death information has been received since that date.

Resident.

Hon. Emory Washburn, LL.D.
Hon. John Lothrop Motley, LL.D.
Edmund Quincy, A.M.

Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, A.M.
George Bemis, A.M.

Honorary and Corresponding.

William V. Wells, Esq.
Louis Adolphe Thiers.

Thomas Donaldson, A.M.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1876.

A STATED meeting was held on Thursday, 12th instant, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the preceding meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library. Special mention was made of the gift of a large number of books relating to the Rebellion, by Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, whose contributions to this department of the Society's Library have been continuous for a number of years.

The President then said, —

We have had a long vacation, gentlemen. In the whole history of our Society, running through more than eighty years, I doubt whether there has ever been so long an interval between our meetings. We met last on the 11th of May; and it is now the 12th of October, — five months and a day.

When Dr. Ellis made the motion for so long a suspension of our customary proceedings, he certainly exhibited a wise forecast. The intense heat of the past summer was, indeed, enough of itself to dissolve any good purposes of literary or historical labor. But when we remember, also, the varied and distracting avocations of not a few of us during this Centennial year, we may well be satisfied that we had been exempted in advance from any positive obligations in this quarter. We return to those obligations, I trust, with a refreshed sense of their interest and importance, and with a renewed purpose to discharge them punctually and faithfully.

Meantime, we have abundant evidence here to-day that at least one of our number has not been idle during our vacation.

Our indefatigable and invaluable Recording Secretary has not only brought out several serial numbers of Proceedings and of Collections during the summer, but this very morning he has laid upon the table a new volume of Proceedings, and a new serial of a second volume of the Belknap Papers.

The Proceedings, let me add, are brought down to the very last meeting, inclusive; so that the next volume, or serial, will begin with what we may do or say to-day.

Let me not omit to mention that Mr. Deane has not merely printed in this volume what others have communicated, but that most interesting and valuable portions of the volumes, and particularly the closing pages, are of his own production. The Indenture of David Thomson and others, as annotated and illustrated by Mr. Deane, is an important contribution to our earliest history; and I have a special satisfaction in having supplied the material which has been worked up so ably and satisfactorily.

Let me offer a resolution:—

That the thanks of the Society be returned to our faithful Recording Secretary for the serials and the volume which he has laid upon the table this morning.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted, and the President proceeded:—

We may not forget this morning, gentlemen, that during our long vacation we have lost a distinguished and venerable name from the roll of our living Resident Members.

Hardly three years have elapsed since, in speaking of the late Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, in the new Town Hall of his native place, I was able to say that, "until a few weeks past, he had exhibited so little of old age, except its experience, its wisdom, and its venerableness, that no one was ready to give credit to the tale which he sometimes told of a birthday in Brookline eighty-six or eighty-seven years ago."

Later still, at our monthly meeting in June, 1873, our associate, Mr. Sibley, in referring to the aged graduates of Harvard University, made graceful allusion to the personal presence of Colonel Aspinwall, a graduate of the year 1804.

But that was his very last appearance among us. He could no longer contend against the infirmities of mind and body which weighed upon him so heavily. He might still be seen, even to the last week of his life, taking his occasional exercise, and threading his way along our crowded sidewalks, with a sturdy step and something of the old martial air, but rec-

ognizing no one out of his own family, and remembering little or nothing of matters or things either recent or remote.

He died on Friday, the 11th of August, at his residence in Hancock Street in this city, at the age of ninety years two months and nineteen days, having been born in Brookline on the 23d of May, 1786.

His funeral took place on the following Monday afternoon at Brookline; and nothing but absence from the State prevented me from attending it. Both personally and officially I should have felt bound to be present, had it been in my power.

He had been connected with our Society longer than any other member at the time of his death. He was chosen a Corresponding Member in July, 1833, while he was American Consul in London; and, soon after his return home, in April, 1855, he was elected a Resident Member.

He was on our Standing Committee for four years, and was on the Publishing Committee for three volumes of our Collections.

From 1862 to 1870, he was one of our Vice-Presidents.

During his resident membership, he made valuable communications at our meetings and important contributions to our Historical Collections. His Papers on the Narragansett Patent, and on William Vassall, and his admirable tribute to his friend, General Winfield Scott; on the death of the old hero, will be remembered by us all.

But the ninth and tenth volumes of the Fourth Series of our Collections, both printed in 1871, furnish a still more recent and more adequate memorial of his labors in our behalf. Entitled "The Aspinwall Papers," and supplied wholly from the materials gathered by himself in England, they will keep his name fresh and fragrant where he would most desire that it should not be forgotten. We have no other volumes, I think, and may never again have, edited and annotated by one who had already reached his eighty-fifth year!

Colonel Aspinwall was a man of the highest integrity and the most ardent patriotism. On the first breaking out of the War of 1812, he abandoned his profession as a lawyer, and took a commission as Major in the Army of the United States. He was brevetted a Lieutenant-Colonel for his gallantry at Sacket's Harbor in 1813, and a Colonel for his courage and conduct at Fort Erie in 1814, where he lost his left arm in battle. On the restoration of peace, though offered the position of Inspector-General, he preferred civil service, and was soon afterwards appointed Consul at London. In that

capacity, he served his country diligently and faithfully until 1853, — a term of thirty-eight years. During this period, he formed the intimate friendship of such men as Joshua Bates, the benefactor of our Boston Public Library, and Washington Irving, whose publishing contracts were made through him, and to whom he paid a most interesting tribute at one of our meetings, in 1859.

I will dwell no longer on the details of his career, which may well form the subject of a formal Memoir, according to our custom.

It is enough to say of him that he had the respect, esteem, and affection of all who knew him. A braver and more independent spirit has hardly dwelt among us. He measured his patriotism by no party standard. Always for his country, its constitution, and its union, he was as sincere and earnest in its cause when it was assailed from within as when he was personally combating against a foreign foe. But he had his own opinions as to men and measures, and never flinched from the responsibility of avowing them and acting upon them.

I can close this brief notice in no way more appropriately than by reading a portion of a letter lately received from our worthy Honorary Member, Mr. Grigsby, who illustrates Colonel Aspinwall's acuteness in historical inquiries as follows: —

“How well-timed my visit to Boston in 1867! I saw Ticknor, and Jeffries Wyman, and good Mr. Folsom, and Colonel Aspinwall, who has just gone. Let me give you a reminiscence of Colonel Aspinwall. I was introduced to him in the hall of the Historical Society, on my visit, in June, 1867. A short time before, I had written a letter, which appeared in ‘The Proceedings,’ relating to the origin of the name of Newport News, and endeavored to show that the true name was Newport Newce, in honor of Sir William Newce, the Marshal of the Virginia Colony in 1621. I would add that I believe there did not then exist half a dozen men in the United States who knew that such a man as Sir William Newce ever appeared upon the stage in Virginia or elsewhere. You may imagine, then, my surprise, when Colonel Aspinwall, almost immediately after my introduction to him, said to me, with an evident sense of interest in the question, ‘Mr. Grigsby, why do you believe that the name of Newce was taken from Sir William, instead of from his brother *George*?’ I was so struck with the question, coming from an old gentleman, then in his eighty-third year, and known to me only as one of the heroes

of the War of 1812, and as the Consul at London, that I answered playfully, 'To tell you the truth, Colonel Aspinwall, I did not know that Sir William had a brother.' When I had thus expressed my admiration of his minute historical knowledge, I assigned the obvious reasons, that he had been largely endowed by the Virginia Company, that he was the most distinguished military and naval officer in the colony, and that he was the only one who had attained to the dignity of knighthood.

The venerable patriot must have had a happy life, — military fame; forty years in the leading foreign consulate; and an old age of competence, respect, and honor; and the only one, out of the hundred thousand of his fellow-beings who began life with him, who passed beyond the milestone of ninety; while Macaulay went off in the fifties; Scott, Prescott, Choate, in the sixties; Folsom and Everett in the seventies; Ticknor almost, and Savage quite, in the eighties."

With the authority of the Council, I now propose the following resolutions: —

Resolved, That in the death of the venerable Thomas Aspinwall this Society has lost one of its oldest and most respected members, to whom we are indebted for important and valuable services, and whose memory is worthy of being cherished as that of a gallant soldier in his youth, a faithful public servant abroad in his manhood, and a useful and patriotic citizen at home in his more advanced years.

Resolved, That the President be instructed to appoint one of our members to prepare the customary memoir of Colonel Aspinwall for our Proceedings.

Mr. ELLIS AMES then said, —

I will not trench upon the province of our associate who shall be appointed to write for our Proceedings a sketch of the life of our late associate, Colonel Thomas Aspinwall. Colonel Aspinwall's fame was known to me long before I heard the name of any other member of this Society, and before quite a number of them were born. I have a remembrance, though somewhat indistinct, when the news arrived that the son of our nearest neighbor, himself formerly a soldier under Washington, was killed in the battle at Sacket's Harbor, May 29, 1813, a private in the regiment of Colonel Aspinwall, then Lieutenant-colonel commanding. The volunteers of the year 1813, from what are now the four Bridgewater, Easton, Stoughton, Canton, and Sharon, all enlisted in Colonel Aspinwall's regi-

ment. In subsequent years, I knew the survivors of the soldiers of his regiment from those towns, and often talked with them. At the mention of Colonel Aspinwall's name, their countenances brightened, and they bore ample testimony to his bravery as a soldier and to his great ability as an officer. They are now all dead; and, though he lost an arm at the *sortie* from Fort Erie, Sept. 12, 1814, yet he survived all the soldiers of his command.

Upon inquiry into the particulars as to the fall of the son of our neighbor, I found that he was slain by a musket-ball that struck him in his forehead, and that the fur upon his soldier's cap, where the bullet entered, was burnt by the flash of the powder from the musket of the enemy who killed him. Upon further inquiry, it was stated to me by his surviving comrades that the British troops who made that attack upon Sacket's Harbor were veteran troops; and that, knowing Colonel Aspinwall's regiment and the other regiments were new levies, the British determined to frighten them from their position, taken in some new log-barracks in an open space near the town, and for that purpose the British troops marched up to the new levies, and made desperate efforts to dislodge them, and the battle was fought for more than an hour by a portion of both armies discharging their muskets in each other's faces. This explains the burning of the fur of the soldier's cap.

Neither Colonel Aspinwall nor his men budged an inch. From our considerable acquaintance with him, it requires not much draft upon our imagination to see how he moved from rank to rank at Sacket's Harbor, with his stentorian voice encouraging his men amid the roar of musketry almost in his face and eyes.

Often have I looked at him as he, for more than twenty years, has sat at our board, and scanned the lineaments of the countenance that inspired the Ninth Regiment to stand and give and receive fire in the faces of the British regulars at Sacket's Harbor.

The soldiers of the Continental line from Massachusetts who fought the battles of the Revolution after the war chiefly moved to and settled in Ohio, while the soldiers of the Continental line from Virginia who fought the same battles chiefly moved to and settled in Kentucky. True to the maxim that "*blood will tell*," the soldiers from Ohio and Kentucky, sons of the soldiers of the Revolution, performed the greatest and most signal part of the military service in the last war with Great Britain.

The young men of Massachusetts, whether as privates or officers, who volunteered and fought the battles of the War of 1812, against trained veteran troops from Europe, were a wonderful class of men, deserve the brightest laurels that their country can bestow, and their memory should be thoroughly perpetuated by history.

Colonel Aspinwall was learned in military science and in the history of the country, and, to one who was inquisitive, was very communicative as to things that he "*had seen and part of which he was,*" and "would have been an honor to any country," as he was to his own.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Prof. William Stubbs, M.A., of Oxford, was elected an Honorary Member.

A very handsome volume was presented to the Society, entitled "Memoir of Mrs. Anne Jean Lyman," by her daughter, Mrs. Susan I. Lesley. It was profusely illustrated with photographs of old family-houses, and with two portraits of Judge Lyman. Letters from R. W. Emerson, George B. Emerson, Mr. Hillard, and other well-known persons, were included in the volume, which was "*privately printed.*" The volume was presented by Edward H. R. Lyman and Susan I. Lesley, through Mr. J. R. Lowell.

The thanks of the Society were ordered for the gift.

The President called attention to a gift from Mr. Bancroft of a full set of his History of the United States, for which the thanks of the Society were ordered.

The President spoke of Dr. H. M. Dexter's intended departure for Europe; and he expressed the hope that the Society would accredit him to represent it on any fitting occasion, and to negotiate any exchanges of publications, &c., as was done in his own case and in that of Mr. Deane. Whereupon, it was

Voted, That the Secretary draw up the proper paper for that purpose.

A new volume of the Proceedings, embracing the transactions of the Society from April, 1875, to May, 1876, inclusive, was reported as ready for distribution, together with the last serial of that volume, which included the account of the May meeting.

A serial of the "Belknap Papers," concluding Vol. I., and the first part of Vol. II., were also announced as ready for distribution.

A large historical map of the United States was presented

by Mr. Blanchard, of Chicago, through our Vice-President, Mr. Adams, for which a grateful acknowledgment was ordered.

Professor EVERETT presented a large-paper copy of Captain Back's Journal of his expedition along the shores of the Arctic Ocean.

The President communicated the following letter from Admiral Thatcher relative to the portraits of General Knox:—

Corcoran Gallery of Art, WASHINGTON, June 24, 1876.

HON. ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 21st was received yesterday, and I now return to you Admiral Thatcher's letter about the Knox portraits, with the warmest thanks to you, your friend, and the Admiral for the interesting and important information it contains. While none of our trustees nor myself believed the portrait sent here to be the work of Stuart's hand, Admiral Thatcher's letter gives a positive foundation to our objections, and will be of service to us, if ever other copies of Stuart's portrait of General Knox are submitted for purchase, which is not unlikely, considering how every thing from his pencil has risen in value. With this view I have gladly availed myself of the privilege of copying the enclosed, as part of our artistic records.

Very respectfully yours, &c.,

WM. MACLEOD, *Curator.*

WINCHESTER, June 16, 1876.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of 8th inst. would have met with early attention, had I been at home: having this moment returned, I hasten to reply to your favor.

With regard to the portrait of Major-General Henry Knox, now in "Faneuil Hall," I beg to say that it was an original by Stuart, given by the family to the city of Boston; and I am not aware that Stuart ever painted any other of him. Copies have from time to time been taken from that now on the walls of Faneuil Hall. The first copy that I know any thing of was taken by Hoyt for the family then occupying the old mansion-house of the General at Thomaston, Maine, and remained there some years, or until the decease of my mother,—who was his eldest daughter,—when it came into my possession, and is now hanging in my parlor. I am aware that a copy was also taken from the original for the State House at Augusta, Maine, in conformity with a resolve of the legislature of that State, but the sum appropriated by the said legislature was so small that only an inferior artist could be procured. I have seen it in the vestibule of that State House, and consider it a complete failure. I have also, in various places, seen the result of sundry other similar attempts to copy from the original, all of which are, in my opinion, perfect failures to reach Stuart, either in delineation, expression, or coloring. The copy in my possession by Hoyt is considered as a complete success.

Many years ago I heard of a portrait of the General at Trenton,

N. J., in possession of a lady (one of his admirers), taken during the occupation of that State by our forces under "Washington," but I know nothing of its merits. I am of opinion that the original never was carried out of Boston, and certainly *never* hung on the walls of his home in Maine.

I can only say, in closing, that the party at the South is undoubtedly misinformed in relation to Stuart's painting of Knox.

With great respect, I am, dear sir, truly yours,

HENRY KNOX THATCHER.

WM. G. BROOKS, Esq., 71 Hancock Street, Boston.

He also called attention to a gift from the author of a volume entitled "*Cours graduel et complet de Chinois parlé et écrit, par le Comte Kleczkowski*," &c., in which he had inscribed the following: "*A la Société Historique du Massachusetts. Hommage très empressé et très respectueux de l'auteur (gendre de feu et toujours regretté Frédéric Tudor), Michel Alexandre, Cte. Kleczkowski, Paris, 69 rue de Morny, ce 10 Juin, 1876.*"

Dr. GREEN read the following Memoir of the late M. Jean Frédéric de Waldeck, a Corresponding Member, who died last year, May 2, at the age of one hundred and nine years one month and sixteen days, his name having some years ago been inadvertently omitted from the list of Corresponding Members:—

M. Jean Frédéric de Waldeck was chosen a Corresponding Member of this Society, September 26, 1839. At the time of his election, he was far advanced in life, having considerably passed the limit of threescore years and ten. His name has long since been dropped from the Society's roll of living members, as it was erroneously supposed that he had already paid the debt to Nature. His death, which occurred in Paris, did not take place till the 2d of May, 1875, thus adding another instance of remarkable longevity to those cited by Dr. Palmer, in the "Proceedings" for August, 1865 (page 434).

M. de Waldeck was distinguished not only as a traveller and an artist, but also as having passed, by nearly a decade, the disputed boundary of the hundredth year of life. He was born March 16, 1766, and at the time of his death had reached the remarkable age of one hundred and nine years, one month and sixteen days. There seems to be no reasonable doubt about the date of his birth. He came from an ancient family of Prague, and from an early period of his life was engaged in labors that kept him in the world's eye. His case in this

respect is unlike the instances of extreme old age so frequently reported in this country among the lower classes, — notably among the blacks, — where the absence of registration of the time of birth gives the opportunity for extravagant reports which cannot be refuted with authority. When only nineteen years of age, he went with Levaillant to the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa. On his return to Paris, in 1788, he began the study of art, and worked under the direction of David and Prud'hon. This experience was afterward of much service to him in his travels.

In the year 1793, de Waldeck was present at the siege of Toulon, and in 1794 joined the army in Italy as a volunteer. In 1798, he followed the expedition into Egypt; not as a soldier, however, but as an observer. After the failure of Napoleon's designs in that region, de Waldeck determined to travel in Africa, and accordingly, he set out with four other adventurers on an expedition which was to traverse the continent from north to south. Sickness, however, attacked the little party, and his four companions died, leaving him alone. He was able only to reach the Portuguese settlements on the coast, after four months of danger and privation. In the year 1819 he visited Chili; and later made an archaeological expedition to Guatemala, and on his return established himself in London. Here he was engaged in preparing the lithographic drawings which were to illustrate a work upon the ruins of Palenque and Chiapas. Thinking that the designs he had been employed to put on stone were incorrect, he determined to visit the ruins for himself, which he did; and passed three years studying them in detail, and making maps of the region. On his return to Europe, after an absence of twelve years in the New World, he sold to the French government his drawings made in Palenque, and their publication was begun in 1863. After his one hundredth year, he himself made the lithographs for the work. Two of his pictures, some years ago, attracted considerable attention, because he had put on the frame these words: "Recreations of a Centenarian," an inscription that is rarely within the reach of mortal man.

The President then gave an account of a portrait of Franklin, now at Airdrie House, Airdrie, Scotland, as furnished him by Henry Deedes, Esq., of London.

"It was painted by Martin in London, when the Doctor was about sixty years old. It was ordered and paid for by Robert Alexander, then of the house of William Alexander &

Sons, of Edinburgh, and was designed to perpetuate the circumstance of his advice given in consequence of the perusal of certain important papers. After the death of Robert, it descended to his brother William Alexander. Jonathan Williams, a grandson of Franklin, having married the daughter of William Alexander, the portrait was given to them, to descend to the eldest male heir perpetually as the joint representative of both families."

It seems that Dr. Franklin was so well satisfied with Martin's portrait that he had a duplicate painted at his own expense, and sent to his family; and this duplicate is the well-known portrait, by Martin, now in Philadelphia.

Mr. DENNY said he had just come from the auction sale (at Leonard's) of Dr. Shurtleff's copy of the Bay Psalm Book, and that it brought \$1,025.

The President communicated the following original letter of Franklin to Professor John Winthrop, also Winthrop's reply preserved in a copy written on the same sheet. The Society is indebted to the courtesy of our Corresponding Member, Col. John Winthrop, for the use of these letters for publication:—

LONDON, June 6, 1770.

DEAR SIR, — I find among my papers a letter of yours, dated Dec. 7, 1769, which I must have had some months in my hands; and tho' I think I have answered it, I am not certain; a multiplicity of business during the late sessions of Parliament having occasioned a forgetting of some circumstances. It will only be a little unnecessary labour if I answer it again.

I did give a particular answer to Mr. Maskelyne's queries relating to lightning-rods. I have likewise given sets of directions for erecting them to several persons who desired it; and I think that all I know of the matter may be collected from different parts of my printed papers. But, as many have not an opportunity of seeing that book, to make the thing more publick, I purpose to follow your advice, and draw up a more compleat instruction to workmen than I have yet given, to be inserted in the Magazines. St. Paul's Church is now guarded agreeable to the directions of a committee of our society; and many gentlemen's houses in the villages round London are now furnished with conductors.

You will see in the last and the next volume of Transactions whatever the Society think fit to publish of the observations received relating to the transit. Those made in the South Sea are not yet come to hand, but are now daily expected.

Captain Hall paid me the 52s. you sent p him. I have sent you the Transactions, and I think the print you mention also, but am not certain. Please to say if you have receiv'd it.

I wonder much that you had not received the Galilean glasses, and shall write again to Philadelphia about them this day.

I bespoke your Achromatic Telescope, and I now understand that it is finished. It shall be sent by the first ship.

Towards the beginning of last winter spots were seen in the sun here by the naked eyes of multitudes of people, the streets being full of gazers for several hours. The smoke of the town serv'd the purpose of colour'd glasses.

Your observation of the transit of Mercury I gave to Mr. Maskelyne and to the Society. I suppose it will be printed with one you sent formerly to Mr. Short, which it seems was never published.

I inclose an extract of Mr. Maskelyne's letter to me relating to your last observation.

With the greatest esteem and respect, I am ever, dear sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

JOHN WINTHROP, Esq.

CAMBRIDGE, Oct. 26, 1770.

DEAR SIR, — I received your favors of June 6 and July 9 at the same time. I am very glad to find your admirable invention of lighting-rods is coming into fashion in England, and cannot but think your circulating particular directions for making them by the magazines will greatly promote the use of them. I have on all occasions encouraged them in this country, and have the satisfaction to find that it has not been without effect. A little piece I inserted in our newspapers last summer induced the people of Waltham (a town a few miles from hence) to fix rods upon their steeple, which had just before been much shattered and set on fire by lightning. They are now becoming pretty common among us, and numbers of people seem convinced of their efficacy.

I received the Transactions for 1768, but was disappointed in not finding the print which I had requested with them. I hope you will soon meet with a good opportunity to send it. The Achromatic Telescope is come safely. It is very elegant, and, I believe, by the trials I have hitherto made of it, a very good one. I have the honor to transmit to you the thanks of the Corporation for the repeated instances of your kindness to the College. I suppose Mr. Hubbard has or will direct the payment out of moneys in the hands of Mr. Mauduit. The Galilean glasses did arrive from Philadelphia the end of May last, accompanied by a very polite letter from Mr. Galloway, dated in August preceding. I am directed to thank Mr. Ellicott for them, which I shall do by this conveyance, if possible.

I thank you very kindly for your care of my papers and in forwarding Mr. Maskelyne's obliging letter and the Nautical Almanac for 1770 to me. I am greatly obliged to that gentleman for his favorable acceptance of my dissertations, and for the valuable present of that Almanac, which I find a most useful performance, and shall be very glad of that for 1771, if he has sent it to you, as you intimate he

talked of doing. I will do myself the honor to write Mr. Maskelyne when I have any observations that seem worth laying before him.

I look on myself as under singular obligation for your friendship in communicating my paper on the aberration to the Rev. Mr. Price before you ventured it in public. It gives me pleasure to find myself supported by so judicious a sponsor. I have with satisfaction perused his paper on that subject which you inclosed to me, but, that I may not swell your letter, shall throw what I have to say upon it into a separate paper, which, if you think worth while, may be sent to Mr. Price.

Upon this occasion, sir, give me leave to mention to you that a year or two ago I was informed by some gentlemen of our Corporation that you had intimated a desire to Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, when in London, that Mr. Price should have a doctorate from the College. The gentlemen appeared ready to fall in with your proposal, but, hearing nothing further from you upon it, nothing has been done in the affair. I know gentlemen here have the highest opinion of Mr. Price's merit. I know, too, they will be glad upon all opportunities to express the sense they have of their obligations to you. If you should think proper to signify a desire of this kind, I cannot think the affair would meet with any difficulty. At least I would do all in my power to promote it.

I congratulate my countrymen on the judicious choice our representatives made yesterday of Dr. Franklin for their agent in this time of difficulty. I have no doubt every thing will be done that is possible to be done to avert the cruel blow aimed at our charter rights by those implacable enemies to this Province and to the general cause of liberty.

I am with the most entire esteem and respect, dear sir,

Your most obliged and most humble servant,

JOHN WINTHROP.

P. S. I send by the bearer of this 52s. sterling for the volume of Transactions for 1769.

The President communicated an English translation of the "*Conclusions Historiques*," which our Foreign Honorary Member, Count Adolphe de Circourt, had appended to the second volume of the "*Histoire de l'Action Commune de la France et de l'Amérique pour l'Indépendance des États-Unis*, par George Bancroft."

In offering this communication, the President said that it was well remembered by us all that the last volume of Mr. Bancroft's elaborate "*History of the United States*" dealt largely and minutely with the alliance between France and the United States in 1778, under a treaty in the negotiation of which our own Franklin had played so distinguished a part, and which had always been so prominently associated

with the ultimate success of our struggle for independence. That volume had naturally attracted great attention in France; and M. de Circourt, with the concurrence of his friend, Mr. Bancroft, had translated it into the French language, and had published it as an independent work, in three volumes, under the title which has been given. The French translation was accompanied by notes, and by a large mass of hitherto unpublished original documents, which had been kindly furnished by Mr. Bancroft for the purpose. But, in addition to the annotations and the documents, M. de Circourt had incorporated into the second volume a Paper of his own, under the title of "Conclusions Historiques," giving a summary sketch of the history of the rise and progress of American Independence, from his own point of view. This Paper, which occupied nearly a hundred pages of the second volume of the French publication, had been thought worthy of special notice in France. M. Ch. Giraud, an eminent juriconsult and distinguished Academician, in presenting a copy of the three volumes to the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, after paying a just tribute to the historical labors of Mr. Bancroft, a Corresponding Member of the Academy, spoke of M. de Circourt's "Conclusions Historiques" as a very important contribution, worthy to be commended to the public attention. And I have seen (continued the President) a letter of our senior Honorary Member, M. Mignet, the brilliant French historian, in which, after speaking of Mr. Bancroft's volume, and of the precious documents, hitherto unpublished, by which it is enriched, he goes on to characterize the "Conclusions" as broad, wise, deep,—a philosophical *résumé* of the memorable American Revolution; a skilful review of the causes which led to it, and of the events which marked its progress; an elevated judgment of the position and spirit of the men most distinguished in it, and a clear indication of the consequences which were to follow it,—“a true picture, in short, drawn by a firm hand.”

It was thought by many of us—and I am glad to say that Mr. Bancroft cordially concurred in the opinion—that such a contribution to the history of our country, from such a source, should not be suffered to remain unrecognized in our own land, and that its publication in the English language, under the auspices of a Society of which M. de Circourt is an Honorary Member, and whose name he has associated with his own on the title-page of his volumes, would be only an act of justice at once to him, to ourselves, and to history. M. de Circourt acquiesced in our desire as soon as it was

communicated to him, and prepared a brief "Avant-Propos," or Prefatory Note, as an explanation of his Paper.

The President said that he would only add, that the translation had been kindly prepared, as a labor of love for the Society, by an accomplished lady, who had positively forbidden the mention of her name, and to whom we could thus only return what might be called, in an unusual sense, an anonymous acknowledgment. That acknowledgment, however, would not be the less grateful and cordial on that account, and he should feel himself charged by the Society to present its best thanks to the translator for her obliging labors in our behalf. He would now commit the Paper, with the leave of the Society, to the Committee on the publication of our Proceedings, who would pass judgment on its appropriateness for our volumes.

HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS OR REVIEW,

BY THE

COUNT ADOLPHE DE CIR COURT.

PREFACE.

THE tenth volume of the "History of the United States," by the Hon. George Bancroft, contains the story of events in America from the formation of the alliance with the French Crown to the peace of Versailles, — from 1778 to 1783.

In 1876 there was published at Paris, by Vieweg, a work entitled "*Histoire de l'Alliance et de l'Action Commune de la France et de l'Amérique pour l'Indépendance des États-Unis.*"* The first part of this work contains a translation, by M. de Circourt, of Mr. Bancroft's tenth volume, which is a distinct and special portion of his great work. The second part comprises an original essay by M. de Circourt, with the title "*Conclusions Historiques*," and various unpublished diplomatic documents, generously placed at the disposal of the French translator and publisher by Mr. Bancroft. To these documents the work owes an interest that cannot be exaggerated. Drawn as they are from most authentic sources, and almost all hitherto unknown to the student of history, they throw a clear light on many negotiations whose consequences have become a part of the annals of the period the most fertile in revolutions and the most productive of new creations. Here we find the key to more than one event of great importance, hitherto an enigma; here we see the hidden spring of more than one decisive resolution. In particular, we find the views, opinions, and judgments of Frederick the Great on the events taking place in Europe and America, during the war for Independence, painted here in clear, strong colors, which contribute not a little to the understanding of that penetrating and powerful character, in turn inspired by ambition, enlightened by humanity, and swayed by policy.

It has been thought that these "*Conclusions Historiques*," although they have, and can rightly have, a place only in the French work, may yet possess enough interest for the American public to warrant their translation into English. Their author has willingly yielded to the suggestion; but he feels it an absolute duty to warn those American friends who may kindly read his essay, that its insufficiency will be manifest, unless it be read in connection with the work of Mr. Bancroft, and verified by the documents with which he has enriched the French edition.

* 3 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1876. Vieweg, publisher, 69 Rue de Richelieu.

It is almost superfluous to remark on the coincidence of this publication with the Centennial Jubilee of the independence of the United States, which is opening the source of so many grave reflections for Europe! The experience of a whole century enables us to-day to form a clearer and sounder judgment of the policy of the cabinet of Versailles under the good and unfortunate Louis XVI.; of that of the cabinet of Madrid under a king who loved the good of his subjects, but the views of whose minister were narrow; of that of the cabinet of St. James under an obstinate monarch, tossed by parliamentary struggles between two systems, — one trying to prolong the Past, the other to adapt itself to the will of the Future. Finally and especially, the grand lesson of all these glorious but painful experiences, of increasing prosperity and immense dangers, of passionate debates and hasty conclusions, only brings out more clearly the excellence of the character of Washington and his immortal coadjutors in the task which they succeeded in accomplishing at the end of fifteen years of struggle, of war, of effort, and agitation, — the task of conciliating respect for acquired rights with the interest of possible perfection; the preservation of ancient institutions consecrated by Justice with the exigencies of a new age; the solidity of the foundations of the political edifice with the grandeur of the buildings to be erected upon them; in a word, the passionate pursuit of Liberty with a submissive adoration of the great Author of all things, from whom all good comes, and to whom all good should be ascribed.

JUNE, 1876.

THE establishment of an independent nation in America, the part taken by France in the revolution from which it sprang, the constitution adopted by the new nation, and the principles on which it was founded from the beginning, make the year 1776 one of the most important of the eighteenth century down to 1789, and one of the greatest in the history of the human race.

Every event of that mighty revolution, understood only partially by its contemporaries, but revealing its full significance to our own time, should be studied both by itself and in its results.

Conquered and colonized by European nations, America, for nearly three centuries, had been considered both in theory and in practice the property of the Old World, destined to receive her surplus population, to be governed by the laws and to follow the fortunes of the European States which, enriched by her productions, divided and contended for her government.

The Greek colonies, when firmly established, became, as a rule, independent of the mother-country. The Romans, predestined to give to the Old World a higher civilization, pursued a different course. Rome held her colonies in strict subjection, gradually making a world of that which at first was only a city.*

* "Orbem fecisti quod prius urbs erat."

When America received civil and religious laws from the European nations, the latter had followed unhesitatingly the example of Rome, whose maxims still had paramount authority with modern, especially with western, nations. First Spain, which reluctantly, and only after futile struggles, gave up her claim to the exclusive possession of the Western Hemisphere, then Portugal, Holland, France, and England herself, pursued the same method in the colonies which they founded, and the territory they acquired beyond the ocean. But the English, who came to the Atlantic coast of America later than their rivals, were led by peculiar circumstances to establish colonies under special conditions which the English government could not at first fully comprehend, but of which the colonists themselves had from the beginning a full and clear understanding.

The colonists of New England and Virginia belonged to a free race, organized for the development of liberty under a monarchy. These two principal colonies were separated by New Netherlands, belonging to the Dutch, until the treaty of Breda,* by which the States-General ceded to England all that region which afterwards became New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. New Sweden, previously conquered by Holland, was comprised in this cession, and formed the province of Delaware. Under Charles II., James II., William III., and George I., the "Old Dominion," † martial and fruitful Virginia, extended on the south to the magnificent colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia.

The whole territory between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic, with a temperate climate and varied productions, was, by successive grants from the time of Elizabeth ‡ to that of George I., given to companies of *gentlemen* belonging to the class of English land-owners and capitalists.

These *cavaliers*, as they liked to be called, guarded jealously in their new home their pride in the principles of civil liberty, and their firm resolution to enjoy in their adopted country their English privileges; voluntarily subjected to law; paying only those taxes which they themselves levied; loyal in the main, but attached to the institution of royalty rather than to the person of the sovereign acknowledged by Great Britain, who reigned, it might be by right of birth, it might be by the force of revolution.

Very different were the original settlers of New England. This country, which persistent and skilled labor has made one of the richest regions in the New World, was, in the first half of the seventeenth century, a land of forests and swamps, with a barren soil, severe climate, and occupied by tribes who rebelled to the very end against European civilization, even after their old superstitions had yielded to the light of the gospel. On these shores, where subsistence must be gained by hard labor, the *pilgrims* landed. They belonged to Presbyterian congregations, over-jealous for the purity of their faith, and avoiding union even with other Protestants less severe in their views. These voluntary exiles had been loyal subjects in England, but they had the spirit

* 1667.

† 1680 to 1720.

‡ 1680 to 1730.

of republicanism, and they interpreted in favor of a democratic government the words of the Holy Spirit which they sought in both the Old and New Testaments. The royal power did not regret their departure from England, and they obtained without difficulty charters granting them popular institutions, in the broadest meaning of that term. But, in their relations with the mother-country, they continued subject to the regulations made by the English parliament for the commerce and navigation of the plantations or colonies. The New England provinces, originally six in number, but soon reduced to four,* became, with the full consent of the crown, true republics, where there was neither distinction of class nor hereditary rank; states governed according to the Bible and the elements of *common law*, placed under the protection of the English king and parliament, but free from taxation, and subject only to the commercial restrictions fixed by the mother-country. These provinces became the seat of a serious, generous people, enterprising, not too ambitious, governed by conscience, and possessing in a remarkable degree the character and virtues which the prophetic genius of Shakspeare assigned to the English race, when he foretold that her king should "make new nations."†

During the reign of two sovereigns, extremely jealous for their rights, England, still half-feudal and intensely monarchical, gave birth to societies which became the most prosperous and influential representatives in the Christian world of methods the direct opposite of those to which the mother-country still adhered. In the beginning, James I. and his son saw, in the colonization of New England, only a peaceful means of getting the suspected and embarrassing Puritans well out of the way. Charles I., when the differences between the parliament and the crown had become alarmingly bitter and continuous, felt some anxiety about these independent Puritan communities, growing so steadily on the other side of the ocean: by fits and starts, he forbade the emigration of especially dangerous persons, but there was no method in his action, and his charters equalled or surpassed in liberality that which his father had given in 1620 to the Plymouth pilgrims.

In the course of time, Western Europe contributed of its best to both the important elements of British colonization in America. While the Huguenots, banished from France, carried to the English colonies industrious habits, rigid morality, and religious enthusiasm, the mild, laborious, and charitable Society of Friends‡ founded, under William Penn, the flourishing city of Philadelphia, whose very name sums up the doctrine of the New Alliance; and Maryland, on the banks of the Potomac, was originally an open harbor of refuge for the English Catholics, who, by consent of the crown, were permitted in their new homes the exercise of political rights denied them in their native land.

* By the union of Plymouth, Boston, and Maine. The other three were Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.

† Henry VIII., Act 5, Scene 4. This wonderful scene was written, at the latest in 1613, and possibly ten years earlier.

‡ A common name for Quakers, for which there is no explanation.

English America grew by combat. The generations who built up her power knew nothing of the lethargy which comes from the security of peace. All along the inland frontier, which was constantly pressed backward by cultivation and population, brave and obstinate tribes of Algonquin, Wyandot, Cherokee, and Mobile Indians, persistently fought the pioneers from the provinces. In South Carolina and Georgia, England had to conquer the claims rather than the arms of Spain; but to the north and west of the maritime region, to which until the middle of the eighteenth century English civilization had the wisdom to confine itself, a rival power arose and for a long time disputed the empire of the continent. In the New World, as in the Old, it was France who contested the superiority of England, and more than once threatened the very existence of the English colonies.

One cannot imagine a greater contrast than that which history shows between the principles and results of the systems followed by the two nations in the treatment of their North American dependencies. The English colonies were essentially Protestant, those of France were exclusively Catholic. The former were, from the first, political autonomies, on the model of a parliamentary constitution; the latter were creations of the crown, not emanations from the people; they were, to the last, subject at every point to the laws, the courts, the administrative guardianship of the mother-country, who sent them their magistrates, regulated every detail of their civil life, and, by means of monopolies, dwarfed their commerce and destroyed their industries. Again, while English colonization, clinging at first to the sea-board, developed gradually, keeping its compactness, and occupying only territory that it could people, the French, carried away by a passion for discovery, and by an impetuous temper that the rigor of government irritated instead of restraining, seemed to devour space, penetrating into the depths of the forests, and planting their flag on chosen sites along the great lakes and the tributaries of the "Father of Waters."* But, incapable of holding what their impulsive ambition had grasped, they were forced, after a glorious struggle, to yield to the better organization, the method, and the steady perseverance of their enemies. Little by little, the whole colonial empire, of which Louis XIV. had conceived the gigantic plan, fell under British rule; the peace of Ryswick stipulated for the abandonment of the northern settlements; † that of Utrecht ‡ for the cession of Newfoundland and Acadia; that of Aix-la-Chapelle § for the cession of Louisburg; at last the treaty of Versailles, signed in 1763, giving Canada to the English and Louisiana to the Spaniards, forced France to withdraw her lilies from that continent, to which she had nourished the proud hope of giving the name of the empire of the Bourbons.‖

As the Floridas fell to Great Britain by the peace of 1763, she had no foreign rival on the northern continent of the New World; but

* Indian name for the Mississippi.

† The Hudson Bay posts, 1697.

‡ Nouvelle France, Louisiana.

§ 1713.

§ 1748.

dangers, which she had until then hardly foreseen, and the gravity of which she for a long time did not comprehend, threatened her from the heart of her oldest and dearest colonies.

The immense transatlantic empire of England was formed by adding new conquests to old possessions, and had no unity. On the north were Canada, Nova Scotia, and the islands which are their natural dependencies; in the south, the Floridas; between these, the thirteen colonies, governed according to charters granted by England, and settled by born or naturalized Englishmen; finally, in the west, there was a vast, almost unexplored territory, divided by the Ohio River, into two nearly equal portions, occupied chiefly by Indians, but where French colonists had already begun settlements. The conquest and possession of these was considered one of the greatest advantages which England gained from the Seven Years' War.*

Wherever European culture had been introduced by France and Spain, even in those provinces where conquest had changed the nationality of the inhabitants (as was the case in the peninsula of Acadia), Great Britain found obedient subjects, and could establish, without opposition, laws favorable to English power and English commerce. Those possessions that, with the exception of Florida, Great Britain still holds, were, at the time of their cession, very thinly populated. In 1713, Acadia had only 20,000 souls; in 1760, all Canada had but 60,000. If we add 40,000 for the islands and for Florida, from 1713 to 1758, we have only 100,000 Europeans in those countries, which under the rule, or, more accurately speaking, under the protection of Great Britain, have seen their population increase, in a single century, to 3,860,000.†

But, if England could act freely, and with perfect safety, in the countries which she had conquered, her position was wholly different in the colonies, which were her children, whose fortunes had been one with hers from their foundation.

The misunderstanding between the mother-country and the colonies dates back to the reign of James II.;‡ but for several generations the tendencies toward separation, and the strong wish for independence, had been held in check by the feeling of a common danger to be repulsed, of a common overpowering interest to be made victorious.

While the duel between France and Great Britain lasted on the continent, the sovereigns of the Houses of Stuart, Orange, and Brunswick, found in the provinces only *Englishmen*, ready to sacrifice every thing for the defence of their country, and the conquest of the French posts, which were near enough to be troublesome. When this war, which had lasted almost through the century,§ ended, the thirteen provinces were already organized as States, and busy with their own

* 1756 to 1763 for Europe and the East Indies. In America the war began in 1754, and virtually ended at the close of 1760.

† Census of 1871-2.

‡ War broke out between France and England in 1624, but was soon ended. It was renewed with violence in 1689; but it had continued in the hearts of the colonists of both nations, even while their governments were at peace.

civil affairs, while the mother-country continued to treat them as colonies.

The thirteen provinces contained at that time 2,200,000 inhabitants, not counting the small number of native Indians. The negroes, whom a fatal speculation had introduced upon the Southern plantations, and scattered to some extent through the Northern States, were not one-sixth of this number. This great population, with a vast extent of fertile land was no longer a mere *colony*: It was a *nation*! It could no longer be a dependency: it was an empire. These truths, or rather these ideas, had taken root in the Anglo-American mind, which general education had prepared for the boldest thought; but the mother-country understood very differently the relations which her colonies should hold to her. She claimed sovereignty over the nation created by her care.

On this point, no especial blame attaches to the crown and the parliament of Great Britain. The principles which they declared and maintained were at the foundation of public law in every nation of Europe; while in the application of those principles to her American colonies Great Britain, with generous inconsistency, was far more lenient than Portugal, France, Holland herself, and especially than Spain. But this partial authority, confined to a few points, and with rare exceptions* enforced with marked discretion, was more than the colonists were willing to bear. English, for the most part, by race; English in language and manners, — they would not yield one of the political privileges enjoyed by their countrymen at home. It seemed unjust to them, and it irritated them that the British Parliament insisted upon absolute authority over the acts of the provincial assemblies which regulated taxes and the internal administration. They recognized the right of taxation only by legally elected representatives, and they had no representation in parliament. As to foreign countries, the Americans did not dispute the right of the king of Great Britain "to declare war, to conclude peace, to make treaties of commerce and friendship." They also submitted to the navigation laws between American and foreign ports; but they claimed free communication, by land and sea, with all parts of that British Empire (whether in Europe or out of it), of which they were subjects! † They wished also perfectly free trade between the provinces, and the right of manufacturing their own productions as well as those of Great Britain. Finally, it was of great importance to them to preserve the right of building and selling merchant-vessels, and of sharing, in the American fisheries, all the advantages guaranteed to British subjects by the law of nations, and by special treaties. These claims naturally seemed unreasonable to the lawyers and statesmen of monarchical Europe. The freedom, always bold,

* Arbitrary and violent acts in the government of the provinces were confined in Virginia to the Protectorate of Cromwell, and in New England to the latter years of Charles II., and to the dark reign of James II.

† *Regnicole* is the French equivalent of the English word subject, in its technical meaning.

sometimes insolent, with which American organs vindicated them, in the face of the King and his ministers, prejudiced and to a certain degree irritated Parliament and the ruling classes in England. Nevertheless, as these claims had for foundation clauses in numerous laws, and, still more, the general spirit of the English Constitution, equity required that they should be attended to; prudence gave the same counsel, and, if it had been heeded, the destinies of the world would have been changed. But wounded pride and mistaken interest closed the ears and the hearts of English rulers against American complaints, up to the year 1782. It seems to us that an impartial study of this important and difficult question will lead to the conclusion that absolute right was on the side of the Americans, but that the conduct of the English Government and people deserves great indulgence. We speak, of course, of the causes of the war itself, not of its conduct by either side. We may well be astonished, however, at one of those contradictions so frequent in the political life of nations, and in which the tragic becomes ridiculous. As soon as the attention of Europe was drawn to the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies, the most earnest protests, the most pathetic pleas against the "criminal injustice and egotism" of the English nation, and, above all, of her government, were made by the two nations who had imposed and, continued to maintain in their transatlantic possessions the most despotic yoke, the most ingeniously oppressive system of rules, that can be imagined. Neither France nor Spain ever thought seriously of giving to their transatlantic settlements the smallest fraction of that freedom which, in good faith, doubtless, and with generous enthusiasm, they demanded, even with arms, for the English colonies, as the "prescriptive right of civilized nations." Americans, resting on the positive law of their country, and the common law of their native land, had better justification for the war which resulted in their independence.

Whilst every thing favored the growth of the colonies, the boundless resources of their soil, the uprightness of their lives, the wisdom of their provincial institutions, at least in comparison with others, the mother-country saw her means for controlling her American colonies lessen year by year. The provinces had never done any thing toward the maintenance of a standing army. The militia was, in time of peace, reduced to the garrisons of forts on the Indian frontier. The strength of this military organization had been shown in the French war; but, having at this time no foreign enemy, it existed merely as a barrier against royal pretensions, as a menace to the royal governors sent from beyond the sea. These had authority, which they frequently used, to dissolve the provincial assemblies; but they gained no real advantage from it, for the new elections gave constantly increasing majorities to the patriots and the sons of liberty, as the advocates of the absolute independence of the provinces called themselves. The Americans, on their side, could refuse to pay the salaries of the royal officers; and, undignified as this method was, it became the custom of the democratic legislators of the North. Great Britain garrisoned the castle in Boston, and other old forts which commanded the entrance to rivers or harbors; but

she kept only a small army, and parliament would not grant the money necessary to hold the colonies in check. It was the same with the squadrons cruising off the coast, of which all the expense was borne by the royal treasury. The mother-country would not submit, in time of peace, to expenditures of which, as she thought, America had all the benefit; whilst the colonies insisted that they were wholly in the interest of the royal prerogative, and absolutely refused to have any thing to do with them.

It was this question, apparently purely financial, but really involving the foundations of political order, which brought about the bitter dispute, in the reign of George III., between the provinces and the mother-country, — a dispute which could be settled only by arms, and which finally resulted in the war of which the later events are given in the work we have now offered to the public.

Parliament, alleging that the defence of the Colonies imposed very heavy burdens on the mother-country, and that the provinces, as part of the empire, should themselves contribute their fair share of the common expense, thought it right to impose a few taxes for the benefit of the royal treasury. They were laid on tea imported from China, then in general use; on glass and colors, and on written legal or financial transactions, for which stamped paper must be used, manufactured in England, and sold to the provinces by the exchequer. Taxes so light have seldom been imposed on a people living in almost universal comfort; but the colonies considered them despotic exactions, because they were levied by a parliament in which the American provinces had no representation. The fundamental principle of English constitutional liberty was directly attacked by this measure, so the provincial assemblies, without exception, protested against its execution, and encouraged the people to resistance. The objects on which these taxes were levied were in daily use, and the rejection of stamped paper would have put a stop to business, if private persons and public officers had not acted in direct violation of the *order in council*.

Resistance, at first passive and quiet, soon became turbulent and seditious. In even the most enlightened and religious communities, there are leas which it is dangerous to stir up, and which agitation among the better classes brings to the surface suddenly and fatally. Boston was then the principal city in the thirteen provinces. The lower class, heated by excitement, indulged in disgraceful outrages against the revenue officers, and many respectable citizens who did not share in the general enthusiasm. The European garrison made cruel reprisals, and by speedy action the city was put under martial law, and the harbor blockaded. The interruption to navigation, and the difficulty of land communication with the rest of the province, caused great suffering in Boston, for which the whole country testified the warmest sympathy. That city, the first to give passionate expression to the general sentiment of the colonies, was honored as a martyr to public liberty, and became the cradle of a revolution whose echoes the whole world heard.*

* 1772, 1773, and 1774.

The separate provinces enjoyed such wide and undisputed liberty, that they easily formed a regular and even legal league for the defence of their common interests. New York * proposed a congress of delegates. Massachusetts, the most populous and influential of the northern provinces, † eagerly supported the proposition, which was finally adopted by the thirteen colonies, and this "Continental Congress" (the inoffensive and significant name taken by the assembly) met in Philadelphia in September and October, 1774. In good faith these representatives of the American people still sought to avoid a rupture with the mother-country; but the proposals of the English Government were none the less declared inadmissible by these continental delegates, and the complaints of the colonies were sent to the royal ministers in a spirit which contained the threat of a complete and final separation. The duty of urging these claims upon the ministry devolved chiefly upon Benjamin Franklin, ‡ a citizen who personified, as it were, the habits and principles of former generations, and the tendencies of the present. In England, the Postmaster-General of America, the physicist whom discoveries in natural science had made famous, could not fail to inspire respect. In France, men saw and welcomed with singular enthusiasm the architect of his own fortunes, who affected patriarchal simplicity in appearance and manners. They were struck at first by his peculiarities; but this impression soon gave place to admiration more ardent than reasonable.

In Great Britain, the feeling about American claims was divided. Very few persons realized the importance of the subject, and the extent of the still unused resources of America, now on the verge of insurrection.

In general this transatlantic England was regarded with kindness; it was liked for its courage and its attachment to civil liberty: but they wished it to maintain toward the mother-country the submissive attitude of a son toward a father who has protected his infancy and instructed his youth. Above all things, dismemberment of the empire was feared, and on this point the commercial and political interests were equally alarmed, and equally decided not to yield. In fact, no one in England or on either continent could foresee that friendship and extended commerce between two independent nations would much more than compensate for the losses produced by the dissolution of the political tie which had united them.

This result which statesmen and business men thought impossible, because it was opposed to administrative and commercial routine, was nevertheless brought about, in spite of the bitterness and blind prejudices born of the long and bloody war, on both sides of the Atlantic. More than one generation passed, however, before confidence and cor-

* May, 1774.

† June, 1774.

‡ Benjamin Franklin, born in Boston in 1706, resided in London, as the agent for New England, from 1757. He was recalled in 1775, and soon sent back to Europe on a very different mission, which occupied him till 1788. He saw the beginning of the French revolution, as he lived till 1790.

diality were restored. The complicated questions arising from the rights of neutrals and the immunity of flags were decided differently in England and America, caused numberless combats and acts of violence on all the seas, and resulted in another formal war between Great Britain and the American Union (1812 to 1815). Time was again needed for these new wounds to heal, and commerce to resume its peaceful course. But when we compare the amount which the colonies, on the most favorable hypothesis, would, as a part of the British Empire, have contributed to the royal treasury, with the magnificent sums the United States now pour into Great Britain, in spite of the often oppressive (and as we believe unwise) duties laid by Congress, we must conclude that like all the legitimate results of true liberty the emancipation of the thirteen provinces should have been agreed to in 1774 by Great Britain; that it should have been seen as a material advantage for commerce and manufactures, which were then taking great strides, and becoming an important factor in general policy. But at that time England had not the indispensable teaching of experience, and in the discussion of new questions the first decision almost always comes from pride and prejudice.

George III. had been on the British throne* for fourteen years. He was the first among the sovereigns of his family who was English by birth, character, and language. This prince, pure in private life, of religious habits, making no distinction between the interests of the crown and the nation, united those faults of the head and virtues of the heart which characterized the best and most influential Tories. The Tories were in power, but always threatened by the systematic, often popular, and always plausible opposition of the Whigs. For six years the statesman who was justly called the "great commoner," and to whom England confessed that she owed the happy results of the Seven Years' War, William Pitt, had outlived himself under the title of Earl of Chatham. Lord North was prime minister, kept in office by the favor of the king, although the responsibility was too great for his mind and character, which were not above conscientious and partially educated mediocrity.† George III. overvalued the services of Lord North, because that minister entirely agreed with him about American claims and the policy to be followed in the government of that country. The opinion of the first lord of the treasury decided that of the council, and in the two Houses of Parliament a considerable majority supported the crown. George III. thought it very important, for the sake of conscience and honor, to preserve for

* George III., born in 1738, was the son of George Frederic, Prince of Wales, who died before his father, George II. The reign of George III. was the longest in the annals of Great Britain. Beginning in 1760, it continued, nominally it is true, till 1820. But the reign of George IV. dates, in fact, from 1809, when he was made regent. The most marked reverses, and the most brilliant triumphs, of England belong to what is called the time of George III.

† Lord North was born the same year with Washington, 1732. Upon his majority he entered the house of commons, and at twenty-six was made a member of the cabinet. As first lord of the treasury, he succeeded the Duke of Graton in 1770.

his country the integrity of his transatlantic empire, and for his crown the totality of its prerogatives on both sides of the ocean. Consequently, and remote as he was by temperament from any form of violence, he did not hesitate to put his personal authority into the balance to secure the rejection of the American proposals. This was the opinion of the ministry and the decision of parliament. Among the orators of the Whig party, the colonies had eloquent advocates; but the vote in both houses was against them, and however opinions might differ among the ruling classes, on questions of internal policy, American affairs were left to the preferences of the king and the judgment of his ministers. To the English people, this was a question of national honor involving their claim, until then undisputed, to the supremacy of the seas. It was also a commercial question, to be settled with great care, and for the exclusive advantage of the mother-country.

The Americans, on their side, were determined not to yield their right, and nothing remained but a resort to arms. Every day imbibed the dispute; every point of contact on the wide reach of land and sea produced bitter quarrels and fights between the "islanders" and the "continentals." The first battle (and through its effects the decisive one) was in Massachusetts, between a detachment of the garrison of Boston and a few companies of provincial country militia. This fight at Lexington,* which would have been the merest skirmish in a European war, put American minds in a ferment, and set American hearts on fire. The colonists were resolved to die, if need were, for a cause which they believed just and sacred. As to-day the thrill of the electric wire carries in an instant to the limits of the vast country the knowledge of an act and the expression of a will, so the example of the Massachusetts country militia determined the thirteen colonies to maintain by arms the claims of the provinces, and no longer to retain their hitherto peaceful attitude. Before the end of May, 1775, insurrection was universal; each of the thirteen provinces had, through its representative assembly, declared its resolution to oppose the unjust claims of the crown, and for this purpose to form the militia into a continental army for a short term of service. The officers were to be commissioned by the magistrates of the different provinces. A second Congress met at Philadelphia, and appointed † Colonel George Washington, of Virginia, commander-in-chief. This choice was one of those which Providence dictates to assemblies, when it is about to make them its agents in designs which shall revolutionize the world.

Boston was the only city in the original provinces which the English army still held; the other garrisons, separated by immense distances, could hardly control the recent acquisitions of the British Crown on the American continent. The royal governors were everywhere deposed, and forced to take refuge on board the ships of war. An enthusiastic and superficial race would have thought the war ended: the Americans knew that it was hardly yet begun. There was no common government, no common policy, among the provinces: an

* April 19, 1775.

† June 15, 1775.

immediate end to be gained, an accident, as it were, had caused the convocation of an extraordinary Congress; that was all as yet. Sovereignty had not been formerly withdrawn from the crown: this chief point was still in doubt. Common action could then accomplish the work of the common will, only by the brain and force of a commander intrusted with the defence of national right. But the American continent possessed no officer of much experience in military affairs, or who had shown superior talent in any serious war. Then, too, this general, to be chosen by foreknowledge of the future, rather than consideration of the past, must have a heart free alike from the towering ambition of a Cromwell and the crafty egotism of a Monk, must desire to be the devoted servant of his country, the disinterested defender of her laws; in one word, to be what the Orientals beautifully call "the zealous advocate of justice."

With talents that were not brilliant, but were always equal to a laborious and complicated duty, Washington, by his firmness, his absolute self-possession, his perseverance, his unwavering trust in the protection of heaven, and his strict honesty in the management of public money, soon acquired an influence over the insurgent population equal to that which in his first campaign he exercised over the militia, whose regiments in too rapid succession came under his command. We may, without exaggeration, say that, from 1775 to the establishment of the Constitution in 1789, public affairs in America* depended upon one man; so that, upon several occasions, the *people* meant the army, and the army meant its general. This man was Washington. More brilliant qualities, a more hasty temper, a heart conscious of the temptations of personal fame, would have destroyed the harmony of this unique character: history gives no other perfect example of such a character, and the century which has passed since he lived has nowhere produced his peer. Washington, born in 1732, was in middle age, in full strength of mind and body, in perfect health, and fully conscious of his intellectual power, when the unanimous vote of the delegates from the thirteen provinces made him commander-in-chief of the American army.

A large royal garrison held Boston still in subjection. It was rightly considered the key to New England, and was undoubtedly — in intelligence, wealth, and population — the most important town that English colonization had up to that time planted in America. To deliver this natural capital of their country was the first, and, for a time, the only object of the levy of troops in the provinces. But Washington could only lay siege to the city. Nevertheless, an enthusiasm which he could not oppose, although he believed its immediate success impossible, led the American soldiers to make an assault on the city of the Pilgrims. The redoubt on Bunker Hill became, on the 17th of June, 1775, the scene of a battle which in American annals is described with the enthusiasm and tenderness that the remembrance of Morgarten excites in the Swiss cantons. On both sides, the courage

* Romana stetit res.

was equal. Every soldier who fought in that narrow space believed the right was on his side; the names of Prescott and Howe, reconciled in a common glory, will live, like those of the heroic soldiers whose dust rests in brotherhood beneath the monumental stone on the plains of Abraham.*

The year 1775 was the precursor of great mental activity in Europe. Watchful of the quarrel between England and her colonies, the Old World believed that she saw new destinies for the human race revealed in the principles declared by the Americans, and in the first acts which followed this declaration. Souls, especially in France and Germany, glowed with the ardor of passion and the simplicity of inexperience. They made ready for the coming of the golden age, and that generation was often more unreasonable than when it hoped to find perfection in the future, rather than to imagine it in the past.

Louis XVI. had just been anointed king. Inheriting power beyond the strength of his mind or character, burdened with a terrible succession of faults committed by his predecessors, and whose gravity he did not conceal, this young prince, irreproachable in manners, loyal in intention, sincere in his love for his people, understood, at least partially, the need of important reforms in all branches of the public service. But his authority, absolute in theory, was in fact, strictly limited by custom and even by institutions. The king had neither the energy necessary to overthrow obstacles, nor the fatalistic temper that would accept them and let things alone. On one side customs were sustained that time had loaded with abuses, but that still appeared as respectable traditions; this category begins with the *olim* of parliament, and ends with the details of court etiquette. On the other side, the doctrines of the philosophic school had acquired over the mind and even over the conscience of the nation the authority of real dogmas, while they still floated in the vagueness of Utopia; irritated, but not repressed, by the ill-combined resistance of the established authorities, these doctrines took the aggressive form of revolutionary prophecies. From this condition of mind, and this struggle sure to continue, it resulted that the monarch had the whole responsibility of events, but only an indefinite share in the possession or exercise of power.

Philosophic culture, aspiring with proud confidence to govern affairs by intellect, presented at this time two distinct phases. On one side, the publicists and economists; on the other, theorists boldly criticising political and social systems. In the first group learning, calm meditation, conscientious experiments, wise love of humanity and knowledge of the best means to serve it, were united in those hard-working writers formed by the instructions of Montesquieu, Quesney, and Turgot. Pre-eminent in this honorable company are the keen intellect, the affectionate and strong heart, of Malesherbes. This school gave fraternal greeting to the works of the great contemporary jurists of Italy. Beccaria was respected equally on both sides of the Alps; and Filangieri disseminated in Naples the teaching of the "*Esprit des Lois*."

* Montcalm and Wolfe under the walls of Quebec in 1759. The defeat of the former was that of Leonidas, and the latter died in the hour of victory.

The other group of writers and thinkers who agitated France followed very different ways. Viewing the present with pity and the past with horror, misled by the examples of *classical* antiquity, from which in college they had gathered false ideas, wholly inapplicable to modern society; burning, moreover, with an audacious desire to renew religion, legislation, and social order, according to types existing only in their imaginations, these theorists, who arrogantly took the name of philosophers, were at once the most dangerous dreamers and the most powerful tempters who had appeared in Europe since the great eras of the revival of letters and the Reformation. Multitudes of all classes eagerly read their declamations, which were sometimes eloquent, but generally puffed up with sonorous platitudes and high-sounding sophisms. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the oracle of this school, was surpassed by his disciples, who were not, like him, saved from gross mistakes by a genuine sentiment for the beauties of nature, and an occasional experience of kind feelings.

Between these two companies who had no concert of action, but gained equal success in their different spheres, shone a constellation of learned mathematicians, astronomers, physicists, naturalists, and physicians, who carried the exact sciences forward rapidly and steadily. Respectful towards the established policy of government, these men, among whom Buffon worthily sustained the honor of the country of Descartes, excited by the novelty of their demonstrations the distrust and protest of the clergy: this misunderstanding was unfortunate, and of benefit only to the materialists, who now began boldly to defy the restraints of the law, having already violently broken away from the authority of the schools.

No serious thinker will reproach us with overstating the influence on the political destiny of our nation of this intellectual excitement at the time of the American war; and it would be equally impossible to deny the power, almost without counterpoise, that the dominant opinions of France (whether really or only apparently so) had at the same time over the rest of the European continent. In consequence of the last war of the preceding reign, the kingdom of Louis XIV., although enlarged in territory,* had politically fallen from the eminent place she had held since the ministry of Richelieu. Her armies were less formidable, the poverty and disorder of her finances were known, the talents of her negotiators were undervalued. But her language had by universal consent become the speech of diplomacy and of international *instruments*, as fashion had made it the language of polite society from the Tagus to the Neva. France ruled by her genius even the people who had overcome her; all minds turned to her with submission rather than jealousy; to be approved in Paris was the highest aim of all political and literary ambition; the prestige which Athens, even after the loss of her power, so long maintained over Greek, Asiatic, and Roman antiquity, belonged to the France of Voltaire and Buffon.

* By the annexation in 1766 of the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar, and in 1769 of the Island of Corsica.

The king shared in this tumult of thought, only by his generous desire to put an end to every form of oppression and injustice; he was inclined to confer civil rights on dissenters, and would have removed all trace of serfdom; he thought favorably of free trade at first between the provinces of his kingdom, afterwards among the nations of the whole world; he had a noble but not aggressive pride in the national dignity. At the beginning of his reign, he called to his counsel science and virtue, personified in Turgot and Malesherbes: but, in his eagerness to repair the last and most unpopular of the violent acts of his predecessor, he placed in his own path a fatal obstacle to reforms; he recalled the parliament which Louis XV. had dissolved, and restored its power of making good the claims which it sanctified by the name of "rights"; so that henceforward, instead of being an honored mediator between the sovereign and the people, it only checked the benevolent action of the former, and drove to madness the impatience of the latter, already duped by the exaggerations and fantasies of the fashionable philosophy.

Instead of recalling to the ministry the Duc de Choiseul, whose obvious faults were counterbalanced by rare gifts, Louis XVI., conscientiously following the recommendation of the dauphin his father,* turned to Maurepas, whom a long absence, passed in indolence and frivolity, had deprived of the advantages given him by age, and the experience in affairs which he formerly had under the regency.

But in giving to Necker, whom public opinion marked out as the most skilful and honest of financiers, the task of restoring the credit of the kingdom, then on the verge of ruin, Louis XVI., by a praiseworthy effort, conquered his personal feelings, and even the prejudices which education had deeply rooted in his mind.

All Europe was then at peace. Catharine the Great had stopped her victorious † troops on the road to Byzantium. The Ottoman empire began again to enjoy for another century the protection which a political theory, passed into a dogma, granted it on the part of the western powers. The first partition of Poland had been accomplished ‡ without bloodshed; and that nation seemed ready to profit by the ter-

* The prominent part taken by the Duc de Choiseul in the expulsion of the Jesuits from the kingdom, and in the succeeding steps leading to the suppression of the order by Clement XIV., had deeply offended the heir to the French crown. Angry words between the dauphin and M. de Choiseul made it impossible for the minister to serve as a counsellor for the dauphin, who would become his master, if, in the order of nature, the son outlived his father. The Duc de Berry, whom the premature death of his two elder brothers had made heir-presumptive and second dauphin, was only two years old when the death of the only son of Louis XV., in the flower of his age, put France in mourning, and was looked upon as the beginning of those calamities vaguely foreseen in the future. The men charged with the education of the new dauphin did not neglect to impress upon him the aversion which his father felt for Choiseul, and to make him resolve to keep that minister in disgrace, although the cause of his downfall, brought about by Mme. du Barry, was an honor to him.

† Treaty of Kainardji, signed in 1774.

‡ Agreement concluded in 1772 between the dividing powers, and signed by the Polish government in 1773.

rible lesson, and to introduce indispensable reforms in its social organization. The events which followed in America found the Old World in condition to give them its exclusive and earnest attention, soon growing into passion, as at that time every great and new thing did.

From the first representations made by American assemblies, and the first engagements between English troops and the sons of liberty in New England, the almost universal feeling in Europe was admiration and sympathy, not for the English, who were defending the supremacy of Europe and the universal system of colonial government, but for the Americans, who were driving back one and preparing fatal blows for the other.

We can understand why Frederic and Catharine, governing with the brilliancy and power of genius the two nations most recently admitted to the "European Alliance," were unhesitatingly favorable to a revolution which in no way injured them, but might revive their commerce and re-establish equality of flags on the seas frequented by their merchant ships. But France, Spain, and Holland, maritime powers, and overvaluing their transatlantic possessions, needed only calm reflection to see that, in favoring the American colonies, they shook to its foundation and menaced with ruin their own immense colonial system.

This system was in fact incomparably more severe, more pledged to monopolies, and to the absolute subjection of the provinces, than any which the British government, even in its harshest and proudest moods, had dreamed of imposing upon the American colonies.

But Europe was still under the influence of the treaty of Versailles, that triumph for England. The treaty was only eleven years old, and nothing had occurred to weaken its important results. England assumed the right of regulating, according to her own customs and for her own interest, the laws of navigation on the high seas. It was almost universally believed, although it was certainly an error, that the possession of the old thirteen provinces in North America was the chief element of the commercial prosperity and political greatness of the *Queen of the Ocean*. People were far from foreseeing that conditions of commercial equality between the mother-country and the countries which she had settled beyond the Atlantic would yield more real advantages to England than her former sovereignty, and that she need not buy those advantages by heavy military expenses, and the painful labor of holding restless and angry vassals in subjection.

All this explains why jealousy and vindictiveness prevailed in the cabinets first of Versailles, then of Madrid, and at last at the Hague; and why they outweighed the counsels of sound statesmanship. In the united provinces, the envy and fanatical hostility of the people urged on the government; but, in France, one of the striking inconsistencies of the time was, that admiration for English institutions, curiosity about English thought, a passion for English customs, were the fashion with the upper classes, at the very time they eagerly took part against England. Louis XVI. and the most intelligent of his ministers watched with deserved distrust the effects of this Anglo-mania not only on the fashions, but also on religious and political opinions. At the same time,

national enmity, which had never been extinguished, and which the disaster of the Seven Years' War inflamed, acted with equal force on the nobility, the army, the navy, and on the whole nation, fond of war, proud of a superiority incontestable in its own eyes, with natural gifts, and an ambition to make its voice heard by its own and by foreign governments in the discussion of the great affairs of the world.

The king of France was far from sympathizing with the ardor and determination of his people. Hatred was foreign to the nature of Louis XVI. His ambition was to re-establish order in the finances, and to improve the legislation of his country; peaceful by temperament, he was not less so by delicacy of conscience. Duty was always before his eyes; the study of French history had taught him to deplore alike the extravagance of his two predecessors, and the useless and unjust wars which had filled the principal part of their long reigns. But, inheriting the rank which Louis XIV. had held in the world, and which Louis XV. partially forfeited, Louis XVI. neglected nothing to uphold the claims of his crown by powerful forces on land and on sea.

His army, in which the foreign element might be thought too large, was hardly equalled in Europe; and there was none that could be called superior. The navy had made good its losses, and boasted of seamen who had never been surpassed: is it not enough to mention the Bailly de Suffren, the Comte de Grasse, and the Admiral d'Estaing? The king was the more easily persuaded to use these magnificent instruments. Nevertheless, he decided only after long hesitation, after bitter conflict with his conscience and his sagacity: in fine, this resolution was, like the other decisive acts of his life; he obeyed, instead of commanding; he yielded to the excitement of the popular will.

Every thing, then, conspired to fix the attention of the Old World upon America; to turn upon the questions raised in America the thoughts and passions of an age of immense intellectual activity. The commissioners sent by Congress with diplomatic powers to the different governments of Europe, and received merely as official agents, sought to make friends among the ruling classes, by the propagation of their doctrines and the contagion of their ideas. Maria Theresa, indeed, refused to receive any of them, and Frederic adroitly avoided either receiving or rejecting them. But the envoys were listened to at the Hague, at Madrid, and still more at Paris, where Franklin, the only thoroughly consistent man among them before Adams came to Europe, soon acquired influence to which the prudent Vergennes was obliged to make concessions; but the persuasive eloquence of the advocate of the rebels had no hold on the inflexible principles and clear foresight of the firm and cool Turgot.

Meanwhile the last appeal of the American Congress to the king and parliament of Great Britain having obtained no proposition for peace which the colonies were willing to accept, George III. and his ministers took energetic measures to increase their army in America. But the British people, although in sympathy with their sovereign, furnished a very small number of voluntary recruits, and England had

never dreamed of conscription for service out of the country.* Recourse to foreign States was necessary for the purpose of hiring troops. It was first in Russia, then in Prussia, that George III. exhausted all the resources of his ingenious, rather than scrupulous, diplomacy, and used all his personal influence to persuade the courts of Europe that the cause of Great Britain in America was the cause of all monarchs. All overtures to the great courts failed, but the smaller States yielded to the temptation of English subsidies. Troops enough, and for the most part well disciplined, were raised in Hesse, and in some portions of lower Saxony and Franconia. At this news, there was an outbreak of public indignation not only in France, but in the Netherlands and many parts of Germany. One can see by this how two centuries had changed the feelings and convictions of Europe, where the profession of arms was still the most honorable of all professions, if it was not the most popular. Until the end of the sixteenth century, and even during the Thirty Years' War, it was entirely lawful for the ruler of a country to put the flower of his people into military service, under conditions fixed by himself, and for any cause that he thought would be of advantage to himself; but in 1775 the general cry was that the blood of the people should be shed only in defence of their own independence, or at least in the service of their own interests. In England, the opposition orators enlarged upon this theme with the warmth of conviction, sincere in most of them, and well feigned by the rest. Nevertheless, the German troops fought bravely in America; but the employment of them destroyed the last trace of that traditional affection, which, in spite of political differences, would have continued to exist for a long time between the mother-country and her colonies.

Determined henceforth to spare nothing, the colonies proposed an alliance with Canada and Nova Scotia, in order to leave to the English army no line of operation on the continent, and to oppose a compact body to any military force employed to compel English America to accept any other terms than those which Congress made its *ultimatum*. But, on this point only, the skill of the English government had failed in advance the American plans. The "Canadian Bill," passed by Parliament in 1774, had granted to this country (which had become a mixed colony, French in the East, English in the West) a charter of provincial liberties which surpassed the hopes of the inhabitants, and satisfied their highest claims. The military government, imposed in 1760 after the reduction of Montreal, was abolished; the Catholics were to have full civil rights, and at the same time they acquired political rights, of which they had been totally deprived under French rule. Hence they became loyal subjects of Great Britain, without affection, to be sure, but nevertheless useful allies, provided they were not sent out of their country.

Washington acted then rashly, although generously, when, at the request of Congress, more ignorant even than he was of the real state

* It was different with the militia.

of affairs, he decided * to send to Canada a considerable detachment of the continental army, of imperfect discipline and ill provided. The brilliant gallantry of Richard Montgomery could not supply those resources necessary to hold Montreal, still less to reduce Quebec. But, for the second time, the most heroic blood of both hemispheres was shed under the walls of the proud capital of New France; after the death of Montgomery, whose fate called out expressions of tender sympathy in both camps, Morgan and the other generals led steadily and successfully the retreat of the American army, in mid-winter, to those Thermopylae of New England,† to which new feats of arms would give new fame.

It was impossible for so complete a revolution to be on the eve of consummation in the thirteen provinces, without a division of parties in the Presbyterian colonies of the North, and among the planters of the south, heirs of the *cavaliers* of the time of the Stuarts. In reality, at the beginning of the troubles, a party of *loyalists* was formed, who were attached to their country, but wished to preserve allegiance to their sovereign. Convinced that the propositions of the British minister ought to be accepted as the basis of a reasonable agreement, these Americans refused to enter the ranks of the militia raised to fight against the crown. The first severe measures against these few but resolute adherents to the old order of things were decreed by Congress at the beginning of the year 1776. Washington constantly endeavored to soften in practice the treatment which popular passion, so naturally blind and brutal, often made odious, but which reasons of State deemed necessary.

At the South, the loyalists, uniting with the small bodies of marines at the disposal of the royal governors, delayed for a short time, and at the cost of much suffering, the adhesion of these colonies to the policy of Congress, accepted with much less opposition by the North. To-day the hatred is extinct, and justice has her dues. Americans who are the avowed opponents of the principles for which the loyalists struggled and suffered recognize the fact that, with the exception of a few adventurers whose memory is for ever disgraced, this party towards which the American Union was inexorable until after the final republican victory and the conclusion of peace with the mother-country, deserved the esteem which is excited by generous sentiments, and the respectful pity due to great misfortunes borne with dignity.

In March, 1776, General Howe,‡ yielding, after a courageous resistance, to the persistency of an adversary who revived the victorious patience of the ancient Fabius, decided to evacuate Boston, and to make New York the seat of war, reduced as he was to a single army

* September, 1775.

† Military positions near Lakes George and Champlain, and at the headwaters of the Hudson. The fate of Canada, defended by Montcalm, was decided in these regions in the campaigns of 1758 and 1759.

‡ Lord Howe, his elder brother, was at the same time commander of the English naval forces on the American coast.

corps, with which to conquer the whole immense continent. This resolution prolonged the war for six campaigns: it was, however, considered in Europe a confession of inferiority, and the American cause gained that increase of favor which the multitude instinctively gives to superior power, as well as to the promises of fortune.

Meanwhile it became clear to all reflective men that war must be the arbiter between the parties in this contest. The alternative for the colonies was absolute submission or definite separation. They would accept nothing from the favor or the free-will of the king of Great Britain: they desired a formal contract based on the acknowledgment of their right. Any return to the misunderstandings, contradictions, and collisions that had made so much misery under their former rule seemed intolerable to them; they believed that laying down their arms at this time would be the virtual renunciation of the only sure guarantee for their liberties; finally, they had tasted the reality of independence, and they desired to make it the foundation of their future existence. Towards the middle of the year 1776, minds and consciences were ready for the mighty but single step into freedom.

The province of Virginia was the first which dared to make the declaration of which modern history, up to that time, offered only a single precedent; that of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, when, by the manifesto of Utrecht, in 1579, these countries formally repudiated the sovereignty of King Philip II., a sovereignty which had been respected in theory and in words to the middle of the civil war. Washington, from his headquarters, gave approbation and encouragement to this resolution, which Richard Henry Lee presented to Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. The vote of this assembly, where thirteen *States* (the term provinces was dropped with the allegiance to England) were represented by forty-nine deputies, was declared, after the most mature and calm deliberation, on July 2d, 1776. The words of the resolution, which made a new era in universal history, should be transcribed in their strong and grave simplicity.

"Resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved."

The declaration, which was to make this known to the thirteen colonies, (and we may add, without exaggeration, to all Europe watching for this event); this declaration, of which the future consequences were incalculable, was prepared by Thomas Jefferson, the first jurist and publicist among the statesmen of Virginia. No military hand had touched this work; Washington and the army desired but did not dictate it; their part, to which they held with modest and assiduous zeal, was to make it respected when it became the law of the country, and to demand the recognition of it as the end of the war with the powerful adversary who spared no pains to bring it to naught.

A statement of the grievances of the colonies against the English government forms the second part of the declaration. It was in its time of great interest to belligerent nations; a knowledge of it is still essen-

tial to the understanding of this portion of American history. But the proclamation of principles on which the American Congress based the *Revolution*, which it called openly by this name, and from which it dated the new existence of its country, was in reality addressed to all nations which shared in modern civilization. Not only the States hostile to it, but entire Europe witnessing this radical innovation, considered the declaration as the expression of a new era.* It reads: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Two points in this are to be especially noted and remembered: first, the government of George III. was not renounced by Congress because it was monarchical; limited monarchy with a national representation had up to this time been the choice of American public men; but this authority was renounced, because, in the decided opinion of the American people, it had exceeded its prerogative, and violated the rights guaranteed to the colonies by solemn compacts: † second, although, in the Declaration, the Creator is named with reverence as the author of all good, and the source of all law, yet the use of Bible language was carefully avoided in the revision of the act; there is nothing to indicate to an ordinary reader that it represents the religious convictions and the will of a nation definitely and exclusively Christian. A century earlier, in such a juncture, the style adopted by the organs of the nation would have been very different; but, in the Presbyterian colonies particularly, we cannot doubt that the principles and conclusions would have been identical with those of 1776.

The 4th of July, the day of the official announcement of the Declaration, has ever since been kept in the United States as the birthday and national holiday of the American Republic.

The declaration of the independence of the United States produced an immense sensation in Europe. It was an absolutely new event in modern history; an event which deranged all recognized alliances, introduced a novel and still problematical ‡ factor into general politics; and, what was still more serious, it responded to newly awakened passions, and opened the way of entrance, into active and practical politics, for ideas formidable by their magnitude, their demands, and their vague generalizations.

It was, indeed, a challenge which the New World sent to the Old, that

* "Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo." (Virgilii Bucolica, Ec. IV. v. 1.)

† Bancroft, History of the American Revolution, vol. ii. chap. 70, *ad finem*.

‡ In its results.

until now had been looked upon as the owner of America, and the undoubted leader of the whole civilized world. This calm and authoritative voice spoke the language of the most energetic race in the world, and one which best knew political liberty by experience, theory, and practice.

Throughout all Europe, from Ireland to Poland and Greece, minds which the philosophic school, reviving and re-enforcing the lessons of the classical school, had taught to appreciate the vices of contemporary society and to hope every thing from the future, were in ferment over this event. This, in the confusion of brilliant dreams, gave a glimpse of the endless progress whose partial realization must cost nations passionate struggles and incalculable suffering.

In France, with which we are especially concerned, the almost universal sympathy of the upper classes, filled with military ardor, forced the hand of a king, just, but doubting his own power, and a divided and unpopular ministry. This enthusiasm for novelty discredited the political traditions which the philosophical school had made so popular. So, months before Louis XVI. had decided in council to assist the American rebels, generous volunteers and shrewd speculators undertook to furnish soldiers and arms to the Americans, whose name, Independents, was considered an honorable designation. Government watched this alliance, without daring to oppose it, for some time before it openly encouraged it; and France was equally interested in its two elements represented by Lafayette and Beaumarchais. Fashion, that tyrant of what is called society, had taken Americans under her protection. She cared little for the colleagues of Franklin, who had nevertheless special talents, but she flattered the chief commissioner of Congress, until the extravagant admiration lavished on him would have made him ridiculous, if his solid virtues and intelligent patriotism had not lifted him above the silly deification decreed him by the modern spirit and its curious levity.

Franklin's task was, nevertheless, one of the most difficult that it is possible to imagine. The United States possessed, in fact, a vast territory inhabited by brave and industrious people; a great future was before them; but, at present, they had for their struggle with the richest nation on earth, no munitions of war, no military equipments, no money, and, what was still worse, no permanent organization. The confederation, hardly more than proposed, could not put at the disposal of Congress the resources which different parts of the country possessed: Congress itself was only an assembly of deputies sent by thirteen distinct States, each jealous for its own sovereignty; so, even while harmony reigned in their sentiments, it rarely existed among their opinions. Congress could order levies of men, could assign its contingent in money to each State; but it had no power to execute its orders. Every State arrogated to itself the right of interpreting them in its own way, and received them as simple recommendations.

In such a situation, it seemed evident that, without the assistance of one or more of the European powers, the American war would end in the total defeat of the Independents. It was apparent that the British

forces could not actually pacify and usefully occupy so vast an extent of territory, stretching far into the continent; victory must be fruitless in a country where each inhabitant was at heart hostile to foreign rule; but it seemed probable that English arms would disorganize local administrations, prevent another session of Congress, and, in a word, destroy the United States, and plunge the whole country into confusion, ruinous for transatlantic England; but from which Great Britain would gain only a barren triumph, and a burden of expenses for uncounted years.

The bitter feelings awakened by the war blinded the British parliament to these truths, while in France, where they still reasoned coolly, the friends of America concealed nothing. Consequently, their solicitations to the minister, and to the king himself, became continually more urgent and even threatening. Because the monarch of the oldest and most absolute government in the world held in his hand all administrative power, they wished to force upon him the part of chief actor in a revolution which, if successful, would necessarily place before France the alternative of promptly carrying out social reforms in her own organization, or of braving the incalculable chances of a struggle against an inevitable revolution.

This unnatural state of suspense and change in the counsels of the monarch lasted two full years, during which small quantities of arms and ammunition, and inconsiderable sums of money, advanced secretly by the treasury, were sent to the United States, adding little to the resources of the army, but keeping up the hopes of statesmen and the confidence of the people in the ultimate success of their undertaking through an offensive alliance with France.

Washington saw more clearly than any one else the needs and the dangers of the army and the nation, and so, more than any one else, was frank and urgent in his communications to Congress and his correspondence with American agents abroad. He could see safety for the United States only in a formal alliance with France; in words, where modesty was united with perfect dignity, he placed his country under the protection of Louis XVI.; he did not deceive himself as to the small assistance to be gained at this time from Holland, or even from Spain.

Meanwhile the American war grew to huge proportions; the two armies, moderate in number, equal in courage and perseverance, measured their strength on battle-fields from the banks of the St. Lawrence to the shores of Georgia. Congress was eager to acquire Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; Great Britain would yield nothing of the immense empire which she thought the treaty of 1763 had consolidated, and which stretched from the Northern Ocean to the Mexican Gulf, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, from Labrador to the Bahama Channel. The summer of 1776 was spent by Congress, after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, in regulating the work of the Confederation. In September, the arrival in America of the young Marquis de Lafayette was hailed as the forerunner of the French alliance, and the promise of a formal treaty with a nation

whose universal prestige had suffered little from the series of reverses she had borne towards the end of the last war, which she persistently carried on in many lands, and on all the seas of the globe.*

Lafayette, at nineteen, without worldly experience, or practice in war, was, nevertheless, the fascinating ideal of the French nobility, the model of modern chivalry, so different in feeling and faith from that of former days. A few gentlemen, leaving, like him, the restless frivolity of court, or the idleness of garrisons on a peaceful frontier, accompanied to America the young volunteer, whom there awaited, in his own country, at a distance of only thirteen years, a future which he could not foresee of bewildering changes, political greatness, and cruel sorrows.

The example which he set, of departing without the consent of the king and braving the displeasure of the minister, was soon followed by soldiers and adventurers very unequal in character and capacity. The first were Poles, whom the recent disasters of their country had driven to foreign lands, and of whom Pulaski and Kosciuszko were the most important; the next were German officers, grown gray in harness, and seeking only to continue their trade on new fields of battle or strategy. Washington received them all warmly, and employed them with all the discretion he was permitted to use. But Lafayette became his favorite pupil. The young volunteer soon surpassed the hopes of his general, by the quickness of his understanding, and the cool courage with which he performed the difficult tasks often confided to him.

In the mean time, it became necessary to thoroughly revise the separate constitutions of the States belonging to the *Union*, proposed, rather than accomplished, in order that the different original charters should be made to agree essentially with the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence. This labor occupied the intervals which the war allowed to public councils from the summer of 1776 to the close of 1782. In this work, which was happily finished long before the Federal Constitution was complete, the newly emancipated States of America gave to Europe a wholesome example, which unfortunately was not sufficiently heeded, nor clearly understood, and not followed on any of the occasions which afterwards presented themselves. It was a matter of course that the office of royal governor, and that of the hereditary magistrates, who continued the succession of the *proprietors*, the founders, by the original cession of several colonies,† should be

* The surname and family name of the Marquis de Lafayette, Gilbert Motier, was inherited from an ancestor, Marshal of France, and one of the later heroes in the Hundred Years' War against England. This lieutenant of Charles VII. died in 1464. The name of Lafayette was brilliant in literature also; the age of Louis XIV. produced no more charming and solid talent than that of the faithful friend of La Rochefoucauld and Mme. de Sévigné. The alliance of the young Marquis de Lafayette with the family of Noailles increased his influence at court, and established him firmly in the world.

† They were Maryland; the two Jerseys, united in one province; Pennsylvania; and, in some particulars, New York. Already, by successive modifications

abolished. But these offices, with the privileges derived from feudalism, were the only ones abolished. Nowhere else did the American people risk entering the path of innovation. They preserved all of the colonial organization that was sound, and adapted to the future growth of public affairs. Each State retained legislative power, by means of elective assemblies; usually there were two of these, checking and supporting each other. A council, also elective, and charged with executive powers, had the right of nomination to public offices. The president of this body, first officer of the State, preserved the ancient and honored title of governor. In some States, Roman Catholics were disfranchised; but this restriction soon gave way before the progress of ideas of universal toleration. A certain amount of property was, with fixed conditions of age and moral character, a requisite qualification for the exercise of the elective franchise. Nothing was introduced into legislation which could favor license of writing or lessen respect for property. The terrible question of slavery forced itself upon the consideration of all the legislatures, but was seriously treated only in New England and Pennsylvania. These five States decided it in accordance with the principles of humanity and the suggestions of prudence. The Union so lately formed of so diverse elements, and so imperfectly cemented, had not the resolution, and probably not the power, to extend to the Southern States the plan for the gradual emancipation of slaves which was gloriously adopted by the North. We would gladly turn our eyes away from this great injustice, this great danger. How different the Constitution of the Great Republic of the West would have been, on this Centennial Jubilee of the Union, if the fathers of independence had been willing and able to render to their country this other service, equal or superior, in moral and political value, to all those which America owes to them in the eighteenth century!

It is impossible not to delay the reader for a moment on this subject, which was one of the chief causes of the most gigantic civil war of modern times, and which raised storms of tumultuous sympathy throughout the Christian world.

At this time, slavery and the slave trade were equally condemned by the philosophic school; but its abolition did not seem to be imperatively demanded by Christianity, and economists considered the continuance, even the extension, of this custom as absolutely essential to the life of the colonies. Among the firmest champions of American independence in France and in the New World were slaveholders who never dreamed of freeing their slaves. Washington regretted that this institution existed in Virginia, but he never proposed to abolish it. In the Southern States, they feared for the future of the plantations, if the negroes were not kept by force. But the Middle and Northern States had little to lose by the gradual emancipation of negroes. These

of the original charters, the rights of the proprietors had been restricted to the use of municipal and provincial liberties, and was merely a source of revenue. In both the Carolinas and in Georgia, these rights had entirely disappeared, reverting to the crown.

States had the great merit of being the first in their age to pass from the theory to the practice of the evangelical teachings, equally wise and humane, which condemned forced labor and arbitrary payment. But they could act freely without making great sacrifices. From 1774 to 1800, the financial condition of the Union was such that all men of affairs would have shrunk from the redemption, even at a very low rate, of the four hundred thousand human beings then held in bondage south of the Susquehanna. The sum of eighty or a hundred millions of dollars exceeded the credit as well as the resources of the whole Confederation. In a situation similar to that of English America, Peter the Great, fifty years before, had thought it impossible to abolish serfdom in Russia. His noble successor, Alexander II., has resolutely and prudently brought about this change, in the most successful manner. He was sustained by the spirit of his age, and by the extent of the resources which public prosperity put at his disposal. Providence did not grant Washington this precious boon. America, when she entered upon her new career, was doubtful and timid in a matter which, above all, she should have taken hold of and regulated. If she had acted according to her convictions, she would have won immortal glory, and would have been spared — for the issue was delayed only two generations — calamities from which memory shrinks, and which sadden prophecy.

As a whole, the political action of the United States showed Europe how far nations can carry reform, without overthrowing social order and flinging themselves into the darkness of revolution, of which even the benefits are stained by violence. England alone profited by this calm and beautiful lesson. She could overcome her natural vexation, and receive from a recent enemy suggestions, wisely used by statesmen worthy the esteem and gratitude of posterity. But in France, and on the continent generally, attention was given to that which Americans destroyed, and contempt to that which they by improving had preserved and consolidated. The consequences of this false and partial view were not long delayed; but we cannot with justice lay the responsibility of them on America, who offered the safeguard with the danger.

The first assistance given to the United States, with the connivance but without the official approbation of the French Government, placed that government in an equivocal and undignified position towards England.

Besides, these small contributions served only to keep hope alive in the Americans, but did not help them to fight with any real chance of success. Philadelphia was occupied by Sir William Howe on the 26th of September, 1777. Congress, instead of dispersing, boldly adjourned to Baltimore. The temporary occupation of the city, then considered the political capital of the country, produced more excitement in Europe than in America, where, as Mr. Bancroft says, with equal wisdom and boldness, "it was a war of ideas more than of material power."* It was the same in the second and last war of

* History of the American Revolution, vol. iii., p. 405.

Great Britain with the United States. At that time, Washington and Philadelphia surrendered to an army better disciplined than their own, and to a navy which had then no rival on the seas. Yet the conditions of peace* were favorable to America, who did not give up an inch of her territory, or yield one of her just claims.

Before the close of this year, a decisive action took place, which more than counterbalanced the disaster at Philadelphia. This event of the war occurred in the North, on one of those battle-fields where, since the discovery by Champlain to the latest laurels gathered by Montcalm, French blood has flowed in so many encounters. The army corps under General Burgoyne was moving from Montreal to New York; if the corresponding movement had been carried out by the other half of the English army, holding the mouths of the Hudson and the Delaware, the rebel territory would have been literally cut in two. This result must have discouraged even the energetic characters and manly souls of New England; but Burgoyne, surrounded in the forests of Saratoga, by militia under General Gates, was compelled on Oct. 13, 1777, to sign a capitulation, by the terms of which he was to embark his troops at Boston for England, and promise not to serve again against America during the war. This expedition, which deprived the English of ten thousand soldiers, ought to have finished the war.

In fact, the best judges of military matters, the masters of the art of war in the Old World, agreed unanimously that, after the capture of Burgoyne, the English could by no possibility regain a foothold in the northern provinces, by whose resolution and resources the war was chiefly sustained. Frederic, laying aside his habitual reserve, expressed this conviction in free and plain terms. This monarch did not like the English government, although he professed great esteem for the British people. He had a sad remembrance of the work of the Tory ministry during the Seven Years' War, when, notwithstanding the entire unity of interests between Great Britain and Prussia, the latter had been assisted tardily, imperfectly, and with marked unwillingness, by the great and rich power which ran the same risks with Frederic, but in its policy followed a course too selfish to be sagacious. The American war gave the king of Prussia occasion to show his resentment, not by action, but by severe expressions of opinion, by putting the weight of his judgment, acknowledged to be the most influential in Europe, into the scale against England.

In Great Britain, national honor seemed more than ever at hazard; and the attitude of France becoming at once more manifestly hostile, the fierce and implacable opposition between the nations blazed out with unquenchable fury. It was on this occasion that the shrewd and determined minister of Louis XVI., Vergennes, obtained from his master authority to conclude with the United States a treaty of commerce and amity. From this it resulted, not only that France acknowledged the independence of the colonies, but that the king agreed

* Peace of Ghent, signed in 1814.

to give them his support in establishing their sovereignty on a firm foundation. This treaty was signed at Versailles, Feb. 6, 1778, and at the same time ships of war were put in commission to convoy merchant squadrons to American ports. Such proceedings clearly implied war with England; but with a lingering hesitation, caused by his conscience, Louis XVI. wished to throw upon his rival the responsibility of pronouncing the fatal word. By his order, in March, the French ambassador in London officially notified his Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State of the existence of a treaty of commerce and friendship, which his most Christian majesty had concluded with the United States of America, "that are in full possession of their independence, declared on the 4th of July, 1776."

To this decisive communication, George III. made the reply expected by both nations. He recalled his ambassador from Paris, and presented to parliament, where his ministers were sure of a sufficient majority, the measures necessary for the conduct on a suitable scale of a war which should extend to all parts of the world.

On the 20th of March, 1778, Franklin and his colleagues, who had been officially recognized as commissioners from Congress, had a formal audience with Louis XVI. The coldness and harshness which on this occasion the king took no pains to conceal showed how little his sagacious mind and sensitive conscience were affected by the popular enthusiasm which had spread through his whole court. But the die was cast. M. Gérard de Rayneval, one of the warmest friends of Vergennes, was sent as minister plenipotentiary to Congress; he embarked on a squadron, which sailed from Toulon the 10th of April, with a large quantity of military stores for the Americans.

A single incident, which shows the spirit of the age, idolizing the pleasures of intellect, and intoxicated by the view of an enchanting future, was then exciting all Paris much more than the beginning of a war in which torrents of blood would flow. Voltaire, returning to the capital after an absence of twenty years, presented to the French Academy, in solemn session,* and by a condescension almost unprecedented in its annals, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, calling them the "forerunners in Europe of the star of liberty which had risen in America."

During the stormy debates which the proposition of the king raised in both houses of parliament, Chatham, then near his end, made his appearance once more in the house of lords, and, on the 7th of April, uttered, in a dying voice, his final protest against the use of inhuman proceedings in the American war, including in his condemnation the very "principle of that unnatural war between two sister nations." The time was long past when the eloquence of the "great commoner" moved the souls of the people, and decided the votes of the senate. But, in tragic dignity, the closing scene of that long life † was worthy of the

* The 27th April, 1778.

† William Pitt, first of the name, was born in 1708. Entering the cabinet in

drama of which fifteen years before the peace of Versailles* had seemed to give England the glorious end, — a drama about to recommence under strangely different auspices. The house of lords did not attend Chatham's funeral. He had, in fact, never belonged, by sentiment or sympathy, to the hereditary branch of the British legislature. The first Pitt gave to England, to the house of commons, in his second son, who never wished to be other than William Pitt,* a genius less proud than his own, but a character better fitted to combat with the difficulties of all kinds that embarrassed his career, even when he demanded immense sacrifices of the nation without being able to promise immediate success, but still a patriotism more enlightened, a genius which seldom won admiration, but always inspired confidence.

The events which followed the treaty between France and America are related in the work of which we offer a translation to our readers. We beg them to bear in mind that the historian of the United States proposed to write the history of the war of independence, in reference only to the events which concern the destiny of America, and her situation after 1776, relative to the powers of the Old World. It was not the task of Mr. Bancroft, and it is not ours to recount in detail the phases of that Five Years' War, during which the Indian seas, the coasts of Africa, and the Mediterranean, were theatres of numerous brilliant engagements, the honor of which was shared equally by the two chief actors, "the flag of the lilies, and that of the leopards." We borrow here the figurative language of our fathers, and we desire at the same time to render full justice to the generous sentiment which softened the horrors of war on both sides, and threw even upon the miseries which it inflicted on humanity a gleam of courtesy and chivalric honor. Devoted with the simplicity of filial love to the cause of their king, who stood to them for their country, the soldiers of both nations experienced during that long war nothing of those brutal enmities which produced atrocities, and which unhappily were revived when the war reopened in 1793. Fighting under different banners, devoted to the profession honored at that time above all others in the western world, these adversaries never spared each other on the battle-field; but their anger died with their battery fires, and they unhesitatingly trusted each other's honor when the fortune of war made them prisoners. The great ideas which had caused the war remained the only objects which, with few exceptions, both officers and soldiers had in view until the peace. The elevation of these motives gave nobleness to their actions, and stamped their language with the seal of dignity.

1746, he became the head of it in 1756, and resigned this great office in 1761. Five years later, he was banished from the theatre of his glory by accepting a peerage with the title of Earl of Chatham. Returning to public affairs in 1766, his ruined health, embittered temper, and overweening pride made him of no use, and he finally retired in 1768.

* William Pitt, second son of the first Lord Chatham, was born in 1759. In 1781, he entered the house of commons; in 1782, the cabinet, and in 1784 became head of the ministry. He died in 1806, worn out by hard work, and broken-hearted at the defeat of the coalition in Germany.

We must, however, remember that this spirit of generous courtesy showed itself much more in favor of the superior officers than towards subalterns, and that common soldiers gained very little from it. Delicacy of conduct lessened with the rank or grade of the actor. The condition of prisoners crowded into unhealthy enclosures, and often into floating prisons, is painted in the memoirs of the time with colors that to-day excite shame and remorse. Besides this general disposition of things, the American war was carried on with a tenacity which led on both sides to uncounted severities and lamentable excesses. In every civil war, the conflict of principles assumes a painful character of fanatical excitement; the practice of reprisals, indispensable perhaps, but always grievous, hardens hearts, and calls the executioner to do the work of the soldier. The employment of Indians as auxiliaries to the British troops was a sin against strategy, and a worse one against humanity. In adopting this cruel measure, the British generals had for excuse the usual practice of belligerents, French as well as English, in all former wars; but there was something peculiarly revolting in letting loose such enemies upon adversaries of the same blood, speaking the same language, and who only the day before were fellow-citizens. The dark side of the war was noticed and excessively blamed throughout Europe, and the remembrance of the atrocities committed a century ago on the Indian frontier, helps even in our time to keep alive in the American people bitter prejudices and unkind feelings towards Great Britain and its government.

Early in 1783, the peace of Versailles put an end to the warlike period of Louis XVI.'s reign, and placed the European powers in a new position, to be changed again in eight or nine years by the outbreak of the French Revolution. But the alarmingly rapid succession of events only removed the Old World farther and farther from the condition existing before the American war, a condition to which she could never return.

France came out unharmed in honor or territory: but she had acquired nothing new; and her public debt, very large for that time, absolutely demanded measures which the ancient *régime* could not carry out unless by reforms in finance and in other branches of administration so radical as to entirely change its nature.

Holland had suffered irreparable losses; and the contest between the aristocratic* republican party, and the stadtholder, sustained by the confidence of the people, raged so violently that arms alone could decide it. William V. requested the intervention, not of England, but of Prussia, to maintain him in his position of royalty, which still in public acts preserved the name of republic. The successors of this prince, when party hatred had once subsided, gathered from this very situation advantages which, by confession of the whole nation, the country enjoys to-day.

* It was in fact the patricians of the cities represented in the provincial and general assemblies of the states who formed a permanent and systematic opposition to the office of stadtholder.

Prussia saw the monarch who had created her power close his career by a hard-earned peace, in which his last efforts had secured an advantage more solid than brilliant for the maintenance of the constitution of the empire. The Germanic Roman Empire was virtually divided into two confederations, with unsettled boundaries. The antagonism between the courts of Vienna and Berlin was as marked as ever, and was the most striking feature of German politics. The result of it was a sad series of internal quarrels and external defeats, although war was not formally declared between the two sovereignties till 1866, — the eightieth year after Frederic's death.

The ambition of Joseph II., no longer held in check by the tried wisdom of the great Maria Theresa (who died in November, 1780), turned towards Italy and the Turkish Empire. It threatened Venice, and the Danubian principalities Bosnia and Servia. This ambition, and the restless activity of a monarch eager for glory, ardent for the right, but unscrupulous and unskilful in gaining his ends, had decided Joseph II. to make a close alliance with Russia, although he could reasonably expect from so unequal an alliance only benefits entirely disproportionate to the sacrifices that he would demand of his state, whose revenues were small and finances in confusion.

Catherine II. without resorting to arms, had attained the lofty rank that she sought, when she proposed the league of neutral nations for the protection of their flags in time of war. Admitted among the Christian powers less than a century before, Russia obtained for the first time the consideration and credit which belong to the protectors of a cause just in itself and in harmony with the true principles of civilization. The Empress continued on the defensive towards Sweden, the old rival of Russia, and was in readiness to renew the systematic operations which should force the Ottoman power, driven to the south of the Danube and the Caucasus, to restore to European civilization the beautiful regions on the north of the Black Sea, and on the Sea of Azof.

The three years of war during which Madrid was the ally of France gave to Spain advantages quite out of proportion to the importance of the contingent she furnished in troops and ships. She regained Minorca, although dismantled,* and the Floridas, which the council of the Indies vainly flattered themselves would give them back their former naval supremacy in the Gulf of Mexico. Minorca, unnaturally separated from Spain, ought to have been restored. The Floridas were of no use to her. The fortress of Gibraltar had resisted all assaults, and the Spanish flag could not float over it, notwithstanding the enormous sacrifices made for that end. But this was not the essential point. By recognizing the political existence of a great, independent nation in the new world, Spain condemned herself to lose, sooner or later, the magnificent transatlantic domain, the sovereignty of which had been transmitted by the princes of Austria to the Bourbons.

* The fortress of Port Mahon was razed before making restoration to the Spaniards.

Warned by the patriotic sagacity of Count d'Aranda, Charles III. had, it is true, resolved to introduce judicious reforms in the administration of his possessions, which were so vast that, far from regularly occupying them, Spain could not even explore them thoroughly. But the king did not dare, and perhaps would have dared in vain, to touch seriously the scaffolding of the institutions which his predecessors had given to the West Indies, treated as great farms of Spain, rather than as dependencies of a crown careful for the interest of all its subjects. The spirit of the system established by Philip II. was not changed by the peace of 1783. But between New Mexico and the mouths of the Orinoco, between the Isthmus of Panama and the southern pampas of the valley of the La Plata, on both slopes of the great chain of the Cordilleras were the creoles, many millions of people proud of their race, and dissatisfied with privileges given only to Europeans by birth. These creoles of four great viceroyalties, and the prosperous country of Chili, listened readily to the voice of independent America, whose frontier, for hundreds of leagues, was that of Florida and Louisiana. It is true that the insurrection in thought did not become one in deed, until the paternal government had yielded to the reverses of the war of 1793, and the pacification of 1795, so disastrous for Spain. But what signify twenty-five years in the life of nations? After 1808, transatlantic Spain was lost to the mother-country as surely as American England was lost to Great Britain after the declaration of July 2, 1776.

The part which Spain took in the war of 1778 brought to light the faults in the social and political organization of that great, generous nation which, for a century and a half, had been the rival of France, and, in the western world, had threatened the balance of power, not less than religious and political liberty. The history of the Spanish monarchy presents the strange spectacle of germs of decay and of greatness side by side; of equal growth in power and in political faults; of outward success impoverishing internal resources; of decline visible to clear eyes at the very moment when the country was nearest to universal dominion. The monarchy, founded by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella—"the Catholic kings"—was, late in the fifteenth century, injured in population and industry by the impolitic and inhuman expulsion of a half million Jews, whose trade and manufactures enriched the country. The fruits of the conquest of Grenada were, in great measure, lost by the cruel treatment of the Moors,—recent subjects,—whose persecution, forced rebellion, and final expulsion ruined agriculture and destroyed industry in the eastern half of the kingdom. The civil liberties of Castile died by the pitiless hand of Charles V. This king might flatter himself that his own genius had done more for his nation than her former assemblies of proud spirits, active and devoted to the public welfare. But, under Philip II., and incomparably more under the nominal reign of his miserable successor, the most stupid despotism, unyielding in great things, fickle in small ones, laid its hand of lead on all branches of social life and production in the territories. A system of economy, opposed to sound reason, and clearly condemned by

experience, ended by exhausting the provinces, and hastening the decline of population, which emigration to America, on an immense scale, had already grievously diminished. Aragon had been deprived of her most important privileges by Philip II.; what remained were destroyed with inhuman severity by Philip V., at the end of the Spanish war of succession. Under an arbitrary and suspicious government, every thing was laid low in the countries which, by the division of the Spanish monarchy in 1713, passed to the Bourbons. This dynasty, undoubtedly, brought to the throne better sentiments and wiser intentions than the house of Austria, which ended with the unfortunate Charles II. But neither Philip V., early affected with disgust for royal duties; nor Ferdinand VI., devoured by black melancholy; nor even Charles III., although he was far superior to his brother and his father, could apply sufficiently powerful remedies to the chronic diseases which laid Spain waste. With lamentable folly, of which Spain does not offer the only example, the Castilians were in love with their faults, proud of the peculiar character which their vices gave them, and of the ruinous practices which were everywhere the inevitable consequence. The king, superior in many respects to his people, would sometimes assist his intelligent ministers, but he either would not or could not walk firmly in the way of necessary reforms, and he did nothing which his successor could not neglect or even destroy. Europe was astonished at the insignificant part which Spain played, as a mere auxiliary of France, in a war which flattered her pride, and ought to have satisfied her revenge,—a great war against England, who had no ally. But, in fact, Charles III. had done all that he could with his exhausted resources and the poverty of means at his disposal.

The separation of the Spanish colonies was soon followed by that of Brazil, so that Portugal, who had taken no part in the war of independence, nor seriously wavered in the friendship which common interests had formed between her and England, lost none the less the most important part of her colonial possessions, the largest and only lasting proof of Portuguese power beyond the ocean.

Finally England came out of the war, which had lasted nine years in America, with diminished territory, forced to recognize the French navy as a formidable rival, and burdened with a debt unequalled in the past or present. Great Britain was obliged to establish on a new basis commercial relations with nations that had hitherto submitted to all regulations which her parliament had seen fit to make. Yet among the British people, the change produced by the introduction of the United States into the great Christian republic heretofore limited to Europe, novel and important as it was, produced small disturbance and interfered little with future advancement. The pupil had rejected the authority of the teacher; but in their essential nature the two nations were alike. In general, English institutions were retained in the thirteen colonies; and the fathers of the American confederation had founded their new nation on the principles of English common law, according to the precedents of English history, by the inspiration of English thought, on the precepts of the law-givers and oracles of the English schools of

politics and law. The intellectual inheritance of Bacon and Locke, of Milton and Newton, of Cranmer and Knox, still more in a certain degree of William III. and Chatham, was a possession common to Great Britain and America.

In a few years the English nation and the government saw clearly that their remaining possessions in North America would, if managed wisely and left to the free growth of the colonizing spirit of the Saxon race, fully compensate for the loss of the old thirteen colonies. These prospective advantages have now been fully realized. Commerce with the United States, regulated by agreements freely discussed by both parties, brings to the British treasury infinitely larger sums than the old monopoly produced before the separation. Consequently, peace, once made, was on a sure foundation and favorable to the real interests of both nations. Washington was its sincere apostle and constant supporter. When the French Revolution had hurled into England that challenge of Hannibal, which was the signal for a bitter war of almost twenty-two years, Washington, then President of the United States, while preserving a real interest for France, and professing lasting gratitude for the assistance of Louis XVI., insisted so strongly on the duty and advantage of neutrality, that it was impossible for party suggestion or threat to make the American Union swerve from that policy which she had marked out for herself. She remained attached to it long after new men had succeeded Washington in the presidency, and in the direction of foreign affairs.

But the creation of an independent nation in America by the assistance, and, as the world believed, principally by the assistance, of France produced consequences in the French monarchy of much greater importance than the rest of Europe felt.

The political dogma of the sovereignty of the people had been proclaimed in America with calm solemnity, the fruit of the deep conviction of an intelligent and religious people. The grandson of Louis XIV., the descendant of Saint Louis, had boldly favored this doctrine, for which the philosophic school in France had, by its publications, for half a century been preparing the way.

Monarchy, accepted up to this time in English America, as it had been in all other European colonies, had given place to a republic; and social order had not suffered, and the regular growth of material prosperity had not received a sensible check.

Carried away by the characteristic vivacity of their nature; sharing the brilliant but dangerous gift which Providence has bestowed upon the French race, which seizes at a glance on general principles, and without reflection risks the universal application of them,—the ruling classes in French society were aglow with enthusiasm for the American system. They at once asked themselves if France should remain a mere looker-on at this new force.

Cool reason and a careful examination of the social and political conditions on both sides of the Atlantic would have left no doubt as to the answer of this question. The just and fit counsel of America to France would have been to make immediate and important reforms on which

wise men were already nearly in agreement: far from encouraging France in revolution, the example of America, properly understood, would have banished even the thought of it.

The traditions, manners, and hereditary beliefs of the different classes in France, the great fact of distinction of orders and of classes in each order, finally the nature of the French character (and the experience of the eighty following years confirms this opinion), in a word, the whole social fabric, already too much undermined to resist an assault, but still too firm to give way easily, — all evidently prevented the substitution at that time of a republic for a monarchy in France, without vast ruin and wretched excesses.

From the close of the reign of Louis XIV., the best minds and the great hearts of the eighteenth century had recognized the need of systematic reforms in all branches of the public service. But the plans adopted by the heir-presumptive to the crown, arranged by his loyal counsellors* and developed by the imagination rather than the reflection of an amiable and somewhat visionary character, rested on the preservation of the fundamental institutions. The power of the king, according to the system upon which he acted, should in no way be lessened, but regulated in its application to the government of the people. The distinction of orders should be not only sustained, but strengthened by assigning to each its exact privileges and functions. Far from desiring to abolish advantages of birth, they sought to make them more honorable by preventing the dissipation of patrimonies, and attaching duties to every superior station. The plan of Vauban, to establish a "royal tithe," touched only a single privilege of the exemptions from taxation, henceforth condemned by all publicists, and very weakly defended even by the interested parties themselves.

At a time, then recent, when economists and contemplative philosophers, whom the public encouraged to take up the question of reforms, made plans which they flattered themselves would be put in practice, they assumed the hearty support of unlimited power in the monarch. They exhorted him to use his sovereign prerogative to abolish abuses, to rectify irregularities, to harmonize the different provincial laws, to restrain, and, if need were, suppress the privileges of orders and of corporations. It was on the supreme magistrate that these preachers of reform relied to improve the condition of his subjects. Far from wishing to take from the sovereign any of the powers which he then possessed, the innovators accredited by popular opinion desired to smooth the way before the steps of the head of the nation, and to make him a dictator with absolute legislative authority.

Parliaments, on their part, while constantly active in opposing the acts of the royal ministers, professed the most religious respect for the king's authority, "supreme and held from God alone." They would consent to reforms, even when they imperiously demanded great

* They were the Duc de Bourgogne, the Ducs de Beauvilliers and de Chevreuse, and Fénelon, — not when he wrote *Télémaque*, but when he gave serious advice to the new dauphin.

ones, only on condition that all acquired rights should be respected; nothing was farther from their ideas than the plan of levelling all conditions, and transferring from the monarch to the multitude the direction of affairs, the thorny work of legislation.

The American school roughly turned aside the course of received opinions, introduced into the glowing and fickle imaginations of a witty rather than reflective generation foreign ideas, recommended by their novelty; and thus to nullify the preparations made by a benevolent king, earnest counsellors, and sincere friends of the people, since the accession of Louis XVI., for a methodical reform in the government. History was abandoned for romance; calm reflection, for fantastic enthusiasm. In avoiding beaten paths they hurried towards abysses; but if such were (as we believe) the extreme consequences of the revolution in America, it is only just to repeat that the example of the Americans ought to have produced wholly different effects.

England, in consenting to an apparently disadvantageous peace, had shown the difficult and meritorious virtue of resignation, and afterwards gave proof of a wisdom very rare in aristocratic governments, by making use, in her internal affairs, of the lessons learned from American emancipation. She made these lessons bear fruit, by applying them with justice and careful adaptation to established interests in proportion to their real importance.

William Pitt, that minister great in the things given him to perform, greater still in the plans that he made but could not carry out on account of the violence of the times, — Pitt set himself resolutely at work as soon as peace was assured. In 1786, a treaty of navigation and commerce, negotiated with the Comte de Vergennes, another bold and clear-sighted statesman, established between England and France easy and liberal relations. Heretofore such had been considered opposed to the different interests of the two nations; but it was found that in reality they brought about a harmony of feeling favorable to both nations, equally proud of their civilization and of their power. The theory of free trade, modified to suit the demands of interests which had legal guarantees, was put in practice in a way which ought at once to have made converts of intelligent people. Yet its triumph, after obstinate struggles with selfish advantages, deep-rooted prejudices, blind jealousies, and even the sophisms of science wrested from their true interpretation, did not begin for seventy-four years. Let us never despair of that which is in harmony with the true welfare of nations and with the principles of eternal justice.

The treaty of 1786 with France, and another on a like basis, just signed, with America, did not limit Pitt's views in the sphere of reform. The political emancipation of Irish Protestants, declared in 1782, should be followed, in the clearly stated opinion of the prime minister, at a proper time, by the social emancipation of Irish Catholics; and the union of the Irish Parliament with that of Great Britain, consummated in 1801, was delayed instead of being hastened by the foolish and disloyal insurrection of 1798.

The minister of the crown could not yet get a vote for the suppres-

sion of the slave-trade, — that iniquity which Liverpool and other seaport cities defended, because they found it a source of great profit. Pitt urged Wilberforce and Clarkson to propose it in the House of Commons, of which they were simple members. In the cabinet it was an open question. A superior duty forced Pitt to leave to his friends the trouble and the honor of gathering these immortal laurels. But he was never discouraged, and never grew cold in the support which he gave, with both voice and personal influence, to enable those good men to complete the long and difficult labor, which was drawing near its close when the son of Chatham "died, the victim of the noblest of sorrows." The next year (1807), Fox, himself on the verge of the grave, succeeded in making that a law for the British Empire, which was already a law for humanity; and which, thanks to English persistency, soon became a law for the civilized world.*

Afterwards, successive reforms were made in the government of the still large colonial possessions remaining to England after the peace of 1783. We have spoken of the salutary change in the government of Canada. Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were united, greatly to the social and political advantage of both. At Jamaica and the other Antilles, the royal governors were assisted by representative assemblies. The Indian Empire had become, at this time, of immense importance, by its wars and its commerce; and the feeling of outraged humanity, of justice trampled under foot, broke out in England with a strength against which the avarice of private speculation, and the authority of bad precedents, could not long defend the extortionate practices and habitual violence of the early governors of the East India Company. Public indignation fell at first upon the guilty individuals; afterwards upon the institutions which permitted such malversation. On the whole, the impulse given to liberal ideas and human requirements by the American Revolution affected the mother country more powerfully and more widely than it did the colonies themselves, although the latter may justly be proud that they were the origin and occasion of them.

In France, the innovators and theorists made their assault with specious doctrines and reckless declamation, not defining their aim, or, if they touched it, rushing beyond it. The intentions of the monarch were upright, and his mind was truly just, although slow; but he had no strength of will. He lacked that cold and persistent resolution which alone lifts a reformatory prince above the mean opposition in which his court and numerous servants interested in preserving abuses entangle him as in a net, whose meshes one sharp word, one decided gesture, will break. Louis XVI. had not the character *to will*, as Alexander II. has done in our days, when, by peacefully changing the social constitution of the Russian Empire, the successor of Nicholas deserves the eternal gratitude of humanity. Unhappily, during the interval between the peace of Versailles and the opening of the States General (1783 to 1789), there was in France only one man whose will

* The slave-trade was abolished in 1817, by a solemn convention between all the Christian nations of Europe.

was indispensable to the safety of his country. That man was *the king*; the king, supreme legislator, source of all law,* last refuge of established institutions, heir of Henry IV. and of Louis XIV., heir also to his own misfortune and that of the world, of Louis XI. and Louis XV.; burdened by the faults of others, and by the accumulation of historical precedents, with a formidable responsibility that he could not throw off, and had not the strength to bear. When, in popular opinion, the third estate, which falsely called itself *the people*, claimed to be not only something but every thing † in the country, it was found that, on the other side, in actual legislation, in administration, in that which France had in place of a constitution, it was the king who represented every thing. To save the nation in this terrible dilemma, there was needed extraordinary genius, a Henry IV. and a Richelieu combined; but in Louis XVI. Providence had given France only a virtuous sovereign, crushed by the greatness of his part and the difficulties of his position.

We must especially consider here the part taken in preparation for the French Revolution, and in the first acts of that terrible tragedy, by the men who had shared in the American campaigns, and who naturally carried back to the old world the ideas which were triumphant in the new.

At first their number was small. A single army corps had been landed on the American continent to fight under Washington. The French flag was illustrious by victories, and honorable even in reverses, on all the seas of the world; but, above all others, this war had been for the French navy a renewal of the century's struggle with the English. Lafayette, when he dared to forestall the decision of his government to assist America, was accompanied by a very small number of young gentlemen, whose names, with few exceptions, are written in the history we have just read. The only one of the Polish volunteers who returned to his own country and played an important part there was the hero of Lithuania, Thaddeus Kosciuszko. Next to M. de Rochambeau and M. de Lafayette, whose positions during the war were exceptional, was the Marquis de Chastellux, ‡ whose chief honor is to

* *Caput legis*, head of the law.

† This watch-word of war and revolution, raised by Sicydès, confined, in the view of calm reason enlightened by history, the veriest absurdity and the most flagrant wrong. In consequence of imagining itself, in 1789, the *sole* ruler of a nation, where two other orders had historic and legal rights, the Third Estate was reduced, ten years later, to subjection to an absolute monarch. The state of mind at the beginning of the Revolution is clearly shown by the immense sensation this saying produced; the excited or stupefied multitude believed it a sort of decree proclaimed by eternal justice and by common sense.

‡ The Marquis de Chastellux, an avowed but very moderate friend of the philosophic school was a general officer in the French auxiliary corps of the American army. His *Voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, made and described after the war, added to the literary reputation of M. de Chastellux; their publication was completed in 1782. The author did not witness the Revolution. He died in 1788, the year in which France lost Buffon and vainly sought for a worthy successor to Vergennes, dead some months before.

have made illustrious by his writings the cause that he served with his sword. Many of the officers who were Washington's companions in arms were forced into retirement, by age or wounds, at the outbreak of the French Revolution. They all, however, whether in the ranks of the army or scattered at their own firesides, formed an American school, without official character, without formal organization,* but important on account of its influence upon the public mind. This school was not ignorant of the direction which public opinion took after the installation of the Constituent Assembly, when that body took possession of the sovereign power, almost immediately after the convocation of the States General in 1789.

Until the explosion in France of a revolution which attacked, not like that in America, a foreign rule, but the royal prerogative itself and the vital institutions of the country, the officers returned from the war of Independence had shown themselves, almost without exception, open friends of the reforms which the king, on his side, was determined to carry out in good faith in all branches of public administration. The soldiers who thought and spoke thus, highly esteemed in the army and in the nation, had the calm and happy conviction that they had fulfilled all their duties, and had been faithful to their family traditions and the obligations of their station,

Indeed, the French nobility, especially the military nobility, which served at its own expense and saw the court only on rare occasions, had been, from the middle of the seventeenth century, devoted heart and soul to the crown, but not at all servile to royalty. While sacrificing its vital interests, it preserved the sentiment of hereditary dignity. The way in which its enemies in the other classes of the empire opposed it, and set their hearts upon despoiling it, showed plainly that an involuntary respect accompanied, in popular feeling, the envy and hatred which the misunderstood teachings of the philosophic school had aroused in most of the provinces against the "second of the privileged orders." On the eve of the Revolution, the gentlemen could be reproached for no such feeling. Unquestionably they were generally averse to an entire levelling of the nation, and they desired the continuance of the distinction between the orders; but they entered more ardently than the others into all the projected measures for the relief of misery, the extension of popular education, the amelioration of the criminal laws, the abolition of all abuses which put tyranny in the place of law. On all these matters, they were in free and affectionate interchange of thoughts and wishes with their former brothers-in-arms in America. Patriotism was a passion they all felt sincerely and professed eloquently. An illustrious writer † of established authority in the history of ancient France has observed, that the sentiment of the collective *nationality* of the nations from which the French monarchy has been gradually formed first appeared in the order of the nobility, where it

* The Society of the Cincinnati was only a short-lived association, without stability in Europe.

† Augustin Thierry, *Histoire du Tiers Etat*.

soon became paramount; and for the obligations imposed by this sweet, strong passion, gentlemen were lavish of their blood and their treasure, even when the king, whom they looked upon as the natural head of their order, was personally unworthy of such sacrifice. This devotion to the king continued in 1789; but, after the reign of Louis XV., and especially after the American war, another sentiment claimed a large share in the feelings of the nobility, — that of their own dignity, revived by the remembrance of the time preceding the rule of Louis XIV., and of their duties to other classes and to humanity in general. Such feelings would have brought forth valuable results, morally and politically, if the fierce irruption of material violence, of impracticable systems, of angry declamation, of every thing that belongs to the madness of unrestrained passion, and thought swept beyond the limits of experience, — if the Revolution, in one word, had not driven back all inclination to kindness and conciliation in such a manner that men became implacable foes, who would on both sides have gained infinitely by remaining allies in the service of the national cause.

After 1789, and especially after the crimes against the dignity and the person of the monarch in 1791 and 1792, when the military nobility was forced to decide on its course of action, under circumstances for which there was no precedent in the memory of man, the survivors of the American war divided into two parties, each officer following his own impulses. Some believed their swords, their fortunes, and their blood belonged to the supreme head of the army, to the first gentleman in the kingdom; they marched into foreign lands to undertake there the defence of the late institutions of their own country.

Others believed that their first duty was to their native soil; there they would defend, under new colors, the institutions which the body of the people had accepted, and which their makers believed to be models from antiquity, or copies of the American Republic. Let us be just in offering respect, without invidious distinction, to the memory of those brave antagonists. They all thought they obeyed the command of duty; most of them sacrificed for that all their private interests. They had conscientiously answered in different ways a tremendous question, on which eternal justice had given no verdict, unless we consider as such the judgments pronounced by Fortune. And how various even these have been! Let us cease, let us cease, from condemnation and recrimination! The study of this age, so full of tragic incidents, ought, apart from the higher considerations to which we have alluded, to touch our hearts with respectful pity for the actors in those terrible scenes.

In the army which followed the flag of the republican assemblies, Rochambeau* and D'Estaing† fought with sad but unshaken fidelity. Their reward was, for the first, exile; for the second, the scaffold.

* M. de Rochambeau was the last Marshal of France created by Louis XVI. in 1791. The following year, finding the troops disobedient, and disgusted by the atrocities committed at Paris, he resigned the command of the army of the north. He escaped the scaffold by flight, and died in the obscurity of exile in 1807.

† Admiral d'Estaing received, in 1790, the command of the national guard

Lafayette's fate was exceptional, like his character and the first acts of his public life. When the form of government was changed, a prominent position was ready for him. In 1789, he became the idol of the people, who imagined that they saw in him the genius of free America crossing the ocean to deliver the Old World. Having done more than any other person to introduce a parliamentary constitution in which royalty should keep its place, but not its power, Lafayette tried to oppose one last barrier to the overflow of demagogism; but he had only his sword and the remnant of his popularity. His sword was broken by his own soldiers; his prestige was lost in the city, where the destinies of France were decided. Forced not only to pass almost alone into the camp of his enemies, but also to ask their chiefs for protection for his life, he was deceived in this last trust, and the only asylum he found was a prison. His captivity, as unjust as it was long, kept him from taking any part in the political or military events of the Reign of Terror and the administration of the Directory. The rest of his career does not come within the plan of our work. We only add, that the character of Lafayette was formed, and his principles acquired unchangeable firmness, while he served in America by the side of Washington. When he returned to his own country, he constantly refused to take any part in the acts of a power that departed more and more widely from the forms and spirit of republican institutions. He yielded neither to the advances nor the displeasure of Napoleon. The former prisoner of Olmütz, become the hermit of La Grange, remained a mere spectator of the great events which, between the battle of Marengo and the first capitulation of Paris, threw Europe into confusion many times, and gave to France experience of successes and defeats alike unique in history.

The restoration reopened a political career to him. He gradually regained public favor, and was made, for a day only, in 1830, the arbiter of the fate of the monarchy, which was shaken and tending to a change which would give it no solidity. Lafayette lived long enough to see in America, where he received a welcome both cordial and stately, its power become gigantic and firm by the union of its members. America generously rewarded the services given to her in her early need. Death spared Lafayette to an advanced age, and he never lost faith in the beliefs or even the illusions by which he had lived.*

Many officers who had served under Rochambeau in America were in the army which followed the royal princes to the banks of the Rhine, and which, through the cruel sufferings of nine consecutive campaigns, faithfully defended the colors of ancient France, and the senti-

at Versailles. His services, and the sincerity of his devotion to the cause which he embraced, could not save him from the proscription which levelled all noble heads. He was guillotined in 1794, at the age of 74.

* M. de Lafayette was called to the Council of the Notables by the choice of the king in 1787. We know the part which fell to him in the Constituent Assembly. He lived till 1834, preceding to the tomb by two years the king Charles X., who was born a few months before in 1757.

ment of "unconquerable love"* for its native land. Among them was the Chevalier Durand, who commanded the batteries at the siege of Yorktown, who pressed the hand of Washington after that decisive victory, who remained by the side of Admiral de Grasse, one of the few survivors of the disaster to the fleet of the Antilles, and who, nine years later, had the unique distinction of raising and commanding a regiment of his own name in the French emigrant army.

Returned to their homes after the First Consul had re-established order in France, these exiles, poor and out of employment, were nevertheless treated with respectful consideration by the government of Napoleon. These old officers, so long as they lived, kept a knowledge of and taste for political liberty, which they sincerely believed to be compatible with the royal prerogative in a limited monarchy. Such had, indeed, been the cardinal doctrine in the political *credo* of old France since the establishments of Saint Louis.

At the very time when the French Revolution began in Paris, North America inaugurated the Constitution,† which, until 1861, was both the basis of its federal government and the safeguard of the rights maintained by each State with inflexible determination.

Warmly sympathizing with the movement opening under such charming auspices, and draped with the splendid colors of hope, Young America applauded her former ally, who seemed to be following her example. Washington was President of the Union, and still had almost unlimited influence over the feelings of a grateful nation. The clear-sightedness of this great citizen did not then fail. With affectionate anxiety, he urged his former companions-in-arms and their political friends to be moderate in action, and to preserve for the august head of the "constitutional king" the respect due to his rank, the gratitude due to the sacrifices he had made without hesitation.

One of the most enlightened of American statesmen, Gouverneur Morris, was sent to represent his country at the new government of France, and to recall, when occasion offered, the wise counsels of Washington to the leaders of the parties into whose hands the reality of power had passed in Paris. The journal of Morris and contemporary witnesses show how admirably he understood his mission, and that he neglected no means to stop the Revolution in that unbridled course through blood and all forms of delirium, which dragged France to the inevitable end, — the eclipse of liberty.

When the Convention declared war against Great Britain, the agents sent successively to America by that Assembly under which France had been incessantly tossed between tyranny and anarchy did their utmost to draw the United States into a deadly struggle with the English. But their efforts were useless before Washington's resolution to keep his country at peace. So, while the hero of Independence, the founder

* "Amour indompté;" the beautiful expression of the poet of Cinque Maggio.

† Accepted by the different States in succession, the Constitution went into operation March 4, 1789.

of the Union, lived, America remained firm in the neutrality which was both her duty and her interest. The most violent provocations, the spoliation of which her merchant-ships became the victims in punishment for her refusal, the declamations of leading demagogues, jealous of the glory of Washington and eager to gain his heritage, could not change in the least that pacific policy which the second President, John Adams, had the honor of faithfully carrying out.

Thus all thoughtful observers clearly see the difference between the spirit of the American Revolution in 1776 and the French in 1789. The first did only what was necessary to insure to the people of the United States its independent existence and self-government. It undertook no changes in the social order excepting by successive and prudent modifications of the civil code. The privileges which were abolished had no right to exist, and made no resistance; there was no distinction of orders anywhere, and in most of the provinces they had never existed. The continuity of time was not broken; the memories of the past, even those of the war in which the colonies assisted the mother-country from 1755 to 1763 (dates then very recent), were held with affectionate respect and pride, which, in the old families, were not at all opposed to equality before the law. How much better would the fate of France have been, if, instead of eulogizing the institutions of America, she had studied them! How many precious resources the country would have saved! How many foolish attempts she would have avoided! With what safety and comparative ease the really useful and just results of the Revolution would have been obtained, without being bought by iniquity, dishonored by crimes, and always compromised by the spirit of blind innovation, chimerical levelling, political irritation, and incorrigible imprudence, from which France has suffered so much!

By the treaty of Basel, in 1795, France recovered Louisiana; so that, for eight years, the colonial territory of the French Republic bordered on the new and flourishing States which had been formed between the Mississippi and the Alleghany Mountains.* From this recovery, the importance of which she did not appreciate, France gained no more advantage than Spain had done during the thirty years that she owned Louisiana.†

But the First Consul, at war with Great Britain, and determined not to lay down his arms until he had destroyed that adversary against whom his fortune was destined to be shattered, wished, by the sacrifice of a magnificent property (the value of which he probably did not know), to free himself from the care of defending it against the masters of Jamaica, the rulers of the ocean. On the other hand, he thought that, by selling Louisiana to the United States, he should strengthen

* These States—at that time Territories, but afterwards admitted to the Union with the same rights as the older States—are Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi.

† It was not till 1765 that Spain decided to take actual possession of New Orleans and its dependencies, although the formal cession by France had been announced two years before.

with that nation the bonds of friendship, loosened by the brutalities of the preceding *régimes*; that he should eventually find in her an ally against England; and that it was better for France to have in America a powerful friend rather than an unimportant colony. Finally, he was fully sensible of the pecuniary advantage of the transaction, for he had fixed the price at eighty million francs. The United States were no longer poor; the finances of France were painfully reviving from the total ruin into which they had been thrown by the madness of the Convention, and by the incapacity, as much as the immorality, of the Directory. The negotiation was conducted openly and rapidly between the American commissioners appointed by Thomas Jefferson, President of the American Republic since 1801, and the delegates of the First Consul. Of these, M. Barbé de Marbois* was the head. A statesman, a skilful financier, a sincere friend of humanity, and loyally devoted to the service of his country, Marbois understood the full importance of this transaction: and he spoke of it in his memoirs with an earnestness and emotion that do honor to his judgment and his heart.

So Louisiana, after sharing again for eight years the destinies of France, to whom she owed her settlement in 1718, became a member of the American Union, to remain there for ever. The territory of which President Jefferson took possession in the name of Congress, without opposition from Great Britain or Spain, had no definite boundary on the north-west. But it formally comprised the region from which, at different times, the States and Territories of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the great Indian reserve were made. Its possession opened to American colonization a way to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and gave it a fair claim (which it afterward put forward) to the whole valley of the Oregon, the principal affluent of the Pacific Ocean.† We may say, without exaggeration, that the peaceful acquisition of Louisiana, by doubling the territory of the American Union, by the annexation of the whole valley of the Father of Waters, raised it, not at once, but in a short time, to rank with the great powers of the world, and assured to it pre-eminence in the western hemisphere. This new and immense obligation to France was appreciated with sincere gratitude by the United States; nevertheless they persevered for nine years in the neutrality favorable to their commerce, and apparently necessary in the weak condition of their navy.

The cession of Louisiana by France to the Anglo-Americans was a disaster to Spain. It exposed the whole Mexican frontier to the ardent and unscrupulous action of a race which increased with great rapidity, and put no bounds to its greed of territorial possession. Florida, after

* François Barbé de Marbois, born in 1745, had, before the Revolution, filled consular and diplomatic positions in America: President of the Council of Ancients in 1797, struck by the *coup d'état* of the 18th of August, escaping almost by miracle from his pestilential prison at Sinnamary, he was appointed by the First Consul Minister of Finance. His honorable life was prolonged till 1837.

† This is the river *Bourbon* of our transactions in the last century.

the cession of New Orleans to the United States, became the limit (at least on the land side) of the great Anglo-Saxon republic, and the Sabine River was only a slight protection for Texas. At the beginning of the present century, it was easy to foresee with certainty the time when these beautiful and fertile provinces would change masters. Florida was occupied in 1817, and two years later the government of Ferdinand VII., exhausted by its vain efforts to reconquer the rebel colonies in Spanish America, ceded the two provinces to the United States. From the Mexican Republic, weak heir of the Spanish power north of the isthmus, the American Union won Texas, at the price of a war which gave to the United States all the northern part of the old vice-royalty of New Spain. Under General Scott the American eagle flew to the lakes of Mexico, and returned only to fasten her talons for ever in the valley of the River del Norte, the northern Cordilleras, and California, richer than any other portion of the New World in minerals and products of the earth.

In the acquisition of New Orleans lay the germ of San Francisco, that rival of New York in the bewildering rapidity of its growth and the almost limitless expansion of its commercial relations.

The French ambassador had at least a partial view of such a future, when, on April 30, 1803, he signed the treaty which transferred to the American Union a region larger than France, Italy, and Germany united. The words of M. Barbé de Marbois on that solemn occasion, to which we have already alluded, were serious and prophetic. It was part of the policy of the United States, still modest in language and full of respect for the older powers, to make little noise about this magnificent acquisition, and to organize slowly the territory of which it had gained possession.

Indeed, it was six months before the President received from Congress authority to take formal possession of the territory ceded by France to the United States. The following year, by a second act of Congress, Louisiana was divided into two districts, under the control of the executive, and with only territorial privileges. At last, on April 8, 1811, the "Territory of Orleans" was admitted to the Union as the seventeenth State, with the double character of sovereignty in its internal affairs and representation in the two houses of Congress. The successive formation of the other States and Territories made from the old province of Louisiana does not belong to our subject.

When the First Consul of the French Republic ceded Louisiana to the United States, George Washington had been dead four years. He was followed to the grave by the sorrow and blessings of a whole nation, intelligent enough to understand the virtues of a citizen whose equal in his own country the ages have not produced. Washington, at the age of sixty-five, and at the close of his second presidential term, positively refused to accept a third; and, by this wise abnegation, he established a constitutional precedent from which the United States has not yet turned aside. Casting over the future of the Union which he had done so much to make, and succeeded so perfectly in strengthening, a glance saddened by the justice of his foresight, but consoled

by an unwavering faith in Divine Providence;—Washington desired to bequeath to his country the last counsels of his devotion and the treasure of his experience. He wrote them in a paper which will be as immortal as the memory of his own greatness: "A Farewell Address to the People of the United States," dated Sept. 17, 1796. We may affirm, with the certainty of an historical demonstration, that all the prosperity of the American Union is due to the faithful following of the precepts of its founder, and all the calamities which have overtaken this republic have been caused by the forgetfulness or the systematic violation of the doctrines stated so strongly and so modestly by Washington.

Benjamin Franklin died a few months after Washington.* John Adams, the immediate successor of the hero in war and in peace, had honestly tried to carry out his political system. But when the treaty, ranking next in importance to that of Versailles (Sept. 3, 1783), was signed at Paris by the plenipotentiaries of France and of America, the presidential chair had been for two years occupied by Thomas Jefferson. This honor seemed rightfully to belong to the bold and able author of the Declaration of Independence. Yet the spirit in which Washington had filled his high office, governing impartially all discordant interests, and restraining by his personal dignity, as much as by the memory of his acts, all selfish passions,—this calm and moderate spirit no longer controlled American affairs. Jefferson was raised by the opposition to the highest office; and, during the eight years of his presidency, he experienced and bitterly felt the difficulties heaped up in his path by the very means he had used to open it for himself. Jefferson, however, lives in American history, a figure allied to antiquity by the breadth of his talents and the strength of his character. He had the glory of giving his name to the largest acquisition that any nation ever made by diplomacy, and that gave it an unparalleled advantage in history, without the cost of a single drop of blood. The period of the *alliance between France and the United States* was worthily completed by this great event, which renders the memory of Jefferson † for ever dear to America.

At the time when our narrative closes, the United States had reached the most enviable condition for a political community; the vigor of youth, the fulness of hope, moderation in opinions, respect for justice and for acquired rights (at least in all that concerned white men), characterized the external and internal actions of this nation. Rapid and

* This is a mistake. Franklin died April 17, 1790; Washington died Dec. 14, 1799. — [TRANSLATOR.]

† Thomas Jefferson, born April 2, 1743, belonged, like George Washington, to the old cavaliers, the colonizers of Eastern Virginia. His family had the honorable distinction from generation to generation of giving friendship and, as far as possible, protection to the Indians. Chosen President (the third in the order of time) of the United States in 1801, and re-elected for a second term in 1805, he lived till the close of 1826, and took part in the fiftieth anniversary of the Independence, the principles of which he had formulated, and the audacity of which he justified in a well-considered and solemn appeal to the conscience of humanity.⁴

continuous expansion, wisely regulated, added each year myriads of citizens to the nation and vast districts to cultivation; riches increased without sensibly changing the antique frugality of manners. The Union had, without danger, reduced its regular army to a very few regiments; for the militia, ready at the first call, were sufficient for the safety of the frontiers, and the moral arm of the law had unquestioned authority in society. Another blessing had been granted to the American people in the gradual extinction of the hatred, formerly so bitter, between the conquered loyalists and the independents, absolute masters of the country.

The unmerciful laws against the defenders of the ancient rule, which explain without wholly justifying the exasperation caused by the civil war and the calamities endured by the provinces where it raged, were generally eluded or greatly softened in their execution. The confiscated property was restored or bought at a low price by the relatives of the exiles, who returned it to the former owners. Family ties, roughly broken by the opposition of principles, were soon renewed, and former enemies concluded marriages between their children. One of the most striking examples of these happy reconciliations attracted the attention of travellers who lately visited Boston, in the library of William H. Prescott, one of the most honored sanctuaries of American literature. There they saw crossed in fraternal repose the swords worn by the ancestors of the historian, Colonel Prescott of Pepperell and Captain John Linzee of the royal British navy, who both fought in the heroic duel of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.*

How instructive is the startling contrast presented by France and the United States in 1789! France selected from the examples which America offered her precisely and exclusively those which suited neither her political nor social organization. To all others she obstinately shut her eyes. The great American school had deteriorated so in those few years, that when Lafayette — who truly represented it, and whose popularity, after the Assembly of the Notables, had eclipsed that of the other authors of new ideas — went to perform the most honorable action of his life before the bar of the Legislative Assembly, after the crime of the 20th of June, his just and noble request was rejected with brutal scorn. When, a few days later, he rejoined the outposts of the army which had been placed under his command, in face of the emperor's troops, the only resource left him, in order to save the Revolution from

* This "unique trophy," as it is called by the Reverend Mr. Frothingham, author of a noble poem, has been removed to the rooms of the Mass. Historical Society. It is sad to read, in the correspondence of the ministers of Louis XVI., in 1782, the expressions of scorn and anger towards the American loyalists. In their praiseworthy desire to take the shortest possible road to peace, M. de Vergennes and his colleagues were very impatient when the English ministers, better judges under the circumstances of what honor and humanity demanded, insisted for a long time on the luty of England to obtain complete amnesty for American loyalists. Ten years later, the followers of the King of France had a cruel experience like that of the men whom they so harshly cast out of the treaty.

what would have been one of its most revolting crimes, was to give himself up * to his enemies and the cabinet of Vienna, who, on this occasion, were heedless of the voice of justice and the counsels of generosity. If he had remained in Paris, Lafayette would perhaps have shared the fate, "glorious and beautiful, but cruel above all others," of his companion-in-arms in the war of American Independence, the Baron de Viomesnil, killed on August 10 before the last rampart of constitutional royalty.†

May new generations, at least, profit by such lessons, which history, in her majestic impartiality, offers to all nations! At the present time, few studies would be more instructive, or of more direct application to the conduct of political affairs on both sides of the ocean, than that of the principles by which the American Revolution was begun, continued, and ended; and the examination of the consequences it had for the principal ally of the United States.

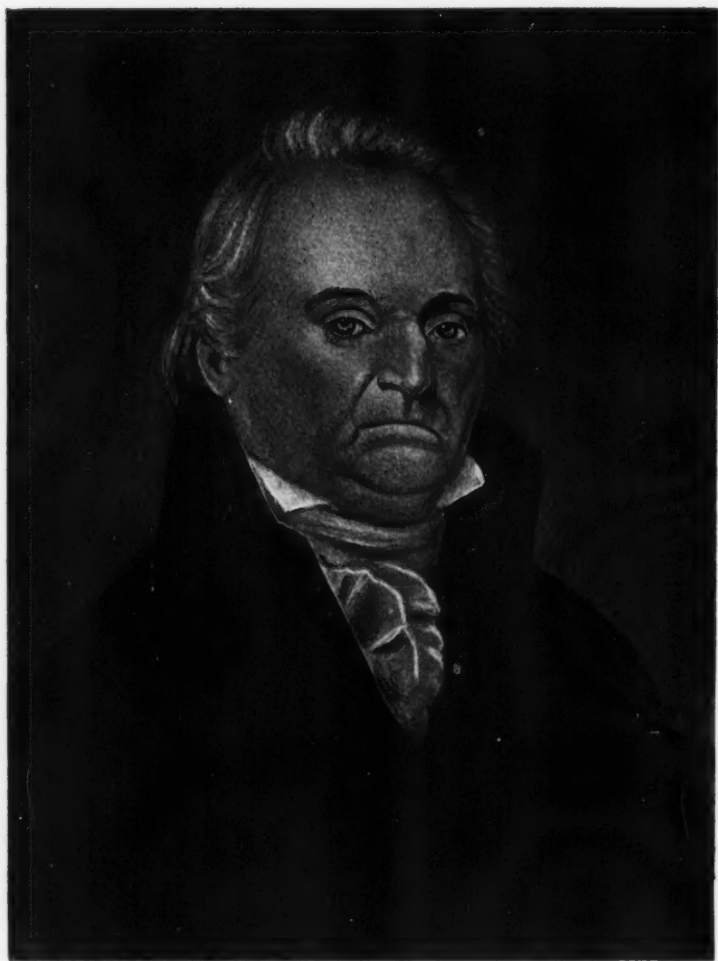
There is still time to learn from what was the heroic age of the New World lessons of moderation in reform, of freedom in opinion, of respectful regard for all that law has held sacred through a long series of years. The gigantic Republic of the West, recently rent by a civil war, whose calamities the old spirit of moderation and of mutual concessions to the common good would perhaps have turned aside, — this Union, re-established by force of arms, stirred by the passions of hatred and revenge; yielding, also, sometimes to the temptations continually born from great wealth and unbalanced strength, — cannot go back too affectionately or with too much docility to the examples given by the actions and by the words of the illustrious men and the obscure heroes, who, in deliberative assemblies and on fields of battle, accomplished the work to which are for ever gloriously attached the immortal names of Adams, Jefferson, Greene, Lafayette, Rochambeau, and, first of all in arms and in administration, GEORGE WASHINGTON.

* Aug. 20, 1792.

† Charles du Houx, Baron de Viomesnil, born in 1728, lieutenant-general of the army.

EDITORS' NOTES.

¹ In these paragraphs relating to the New England Colonies, Count Circourt is not altogether accurate. The Pilgrims, it should be remembered, never belonged to Presbyterian congregations: they were Separatists from the Church of England, and their church polity was strictly "congregational." Not one of the New England colonies was founded by Presbyterians, and in none did the denomination ever become numerous. It is the more important to bear this in mind, because Count Circourt refers several times to the northern colonies as Presbyterian colonies. It is an error also to speak of the charter which the father of Charles I. gave to the Plymouth pilgrims. The Plymouth Colony never had a royal charter, and could never obtain the king's ratification to the patents granted by the Great Council for New England. The real basis on which their civil government rested was the compact signed on board of the Mayflower in Provincetown harbor. The enumeration of the New England colonies is also incorrect. When the New England Confederacy was formed in



HELIOTYPE.





The Publishing Committee, to whom the Orderly Book of Colonel William Henshaw was referred, having decided to publish it in the Proceedings, it is here printed. In accordance with the wish of the family of Colonel Henshaw, a Memoir of him has been prepared by our associate, Professor EMORY WASHBURN, as an introduction to the Orderly Book, and it here follows:—

Memoir of Colonel William Henshaw.

The subject of this notice was born in Boston, Sept. 20, 1735. He was the son of Daniel Henshaw, who, with his brother Joshua, was a son of Joshua, an early proprietor of Leicester. Daniel married Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Bass, of Boston; and, when his son William was thirteen years of age, removed to Leicester, upon land belonging to his father, where he lived till his death in 1781, at the age of eighty years. Another of Daniel's sons, who also lived in Leicester, was the father of the Hon. David Henshaw, at one time Secretary of the Navy. Another of his sons was Joseph, who graduated at Harvard College in 1748. He married the daughter of Joshua second; and, in 1774, removed to Leicester, and took a prominent part, both in a military and civil capacity, in the early and later stages of the Revolution. Joshua, his father-in-law, was obliged by his political opinions to remove from Boston in the same year, and

1643, the colonies which had separate organized governments, were Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven, and Rhode Island. The first two were united by the charter of William and Mary, which bears date Oct. 7, 1691. Connecticut and New Haven were brought under a common government by the royal charter of 1662, which finally went into effect in the early part of 1665. Jurisdiction over Maine and New Hampshire and the title to the territory were matters of dispute from an early period. Massachusetts made good her claim to Maine, and exercised jurisdiction from 1651, though with some resistance at first, down to 1820. The four towns of Dover, Exeter, Hampton, and Portsmouth, were the only settlements in New Hampshire in 1679, when it was created a royal province.

² It dates from a much earlier period, and began almost immediately after the Restoration. James II. was not proclaimed until February, 1685. The Royal Commissioners, Nicolls, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick, were here in the summer of 1664; Randolph's first mission was in 1676; and the Massachusetts Charter was vacated in June, 1684, a few months before the accession of James II.

³ The treaty to which Count Circourt refers in the text, and in another place (p. 46), was signed at Paris in February, 1763, and is known to English and American historians as the "peace of Paris."

⁴ Jefferson died on "the fiftieth anniversary of the Independence," July 4, 1826.

⁵ Captain Linzee was the grandfather of Mrs. Prescott.

for a while resided in Leicester. His son, Joshua third, was many years register of deeds for the county of Suffolk. His father, Joshua second, and Joseph, were associated and active co-workers with the Adamses, Otis, Warren, Quincy, and others, in the measures which originated and carried forward the Revolution. Joshua the second represented Boston in the General Court, and had the honor of being negatived by Governor Bernard when chosen to the Council; having for associates in being so rejected Bowdoin, Otis, Hancock, and Artemas Ward.

William, the subject of this notice, had the advantage of the Boston schools until his removal, and had made considerable progress in the study of Latin, with a view of preparing for college, as his brother had done before him. He thus acquired a taste for literary culture, which he afterwards improved, till, as will be seen, he applied it to practical use in the preparation of important papers and documents of a public character connected with the Revolutionary movements in which he took a part.

In 1759, he received a second lieutenant's commission in Captain Baldwin's company, and Colonel, afterwards General, Ruggles's regiment of Provincial troops, under General Amherst, and served during two campaigns,—being stationed a considerable part of the time at Fort Edward and afterwards at Crown Point. He then returned to Leicester, and in 1762 married Ruth Sargent, daughter of Jonathan Sargent, of that town. From that time till his death, he lived upon and cultivated a farm in the easterly part of the town.

Another leading citizen of Leicester, Joseph Allen, afterwards a representative in Congress while residing in Worcester, had removed from Boston in 1771. He was a nephew of Samuel Adams, and shared his confidence, and was in hearty sympathy with his views. The population of the town at that time did not exceed a thousand, and most of them were farmers of small means; and, considering their remoteness from Boston in the then condition of intercourse, without a post-office, or even a mail, except one carried on horseback about once a fortnight, it might strike one with surprise to learn at how early a stage in the growing spirit of resistance to the encroachments of the Crown, the people of Leicester were in full possession of the merits of the controversy, and entered with a zeal and intelligence hardly second to that of the people of Boston themselves into the discussions to which it gave rise. This is readily to be traced to those family relations, and not a little of it was due to the correspondence

which Colonel Henshaw kept up with his brother Joseph and his cousin Joshua. Among the papers which he left are sundry letters, covering a period from May, 1766, to August, 1774, written by his cousin, in which he keeps him advised of what was doing upon the one side and the other; but in which, from motives of prudence, the name of the writer was feigned, or omitted altogether. The records of the town also show a series of remarkable papers, commencing as early as October, 1765, and continued to May, 1776; consisting of instructions to the representatives of the town in the General Court or Provincial Congress, letters and communications in reply to those received from the inhabitants of Boston, resolutions setting forth the rights of the people and the wrongs they were suffering, and the views of its citizens "on the present melancholy situation of this country." In their style, their broad and statesmanlike views of the condition of the country, the principles for which they were contending, and the bold determination they express of maintaining them, these papers will compare favorably with the best of the like documents which appeared during that time, and have excited the admiration of students in history. Several of the most striking of these were drawn by Colonel Henshaw, and some of the others were prepared by committees of which he was a member.

But an occurrence in which he took a prominent part, in April, 1774, partook more of personal courage and open avowal of resistance to the objectionable measures of the government, than the papers above mentioned. It will be remembered that the government at home, in order to render the judges of the Superior Court independent of the people of the Province, to whom they looked for their salaries, made provision in 1772 for their being, in future, paid out of the royal exchequer. The people regarded this as a direct attack upon the system under which they had lived. The power of the court, as then conducted, was very imposing, and the dignity and respect it maintained raised it above the ordinary criticism with which the other branches of the government were discussed. With an almost unlimited power to impose fines and imprisonment upon such as presumed to disturb the course of the proceedings at its sessions, it is difficult to imagine the gravity of a measure which had for its purpose to assail one of the members, and that the chief, at one of its sessions for the transaction of public business. Chief Justice Oliver alone had accepted his salary at the hands of the Crown, and in that way had made himself the object of general odium. The House of Repre-

representatives took measures for his removal by a formal bill of impeachment. In this state of public feeling, the term of the court was to be held at Worcester, in April, 1774. It was a matter of grave difficulty how this feeling towards the Chief Justice could properly be manifested, and not seriously obstruct the transaction of the civil and criminal business of the county,—especially as, up to that time, no one seriously thought of compromising his allegiance to the king and royal authority. A panel of fifteen grand jurors attended at the opening of the court; Colonel Henshaw was one of them. Instead of offering themselves, as usual, to be sworn to the performance of their duty as jurors, they handed to the court a written protest, signed by them all, in which they refused to act as jurors if Chief Justice Oliver was to act as one of the judges. In it they declared not only that he was disqualified to act, but they added, that, “by his own confession he stands convicted, in the minds of the people, of a crime more heinous, in all probability, than any that might come before him.” This was certainly a bold measure and bold language for a few yeomen and mechanics, called from their farms and their workshops, to address to the most august court in the Province. It carried, moreover, with it no little peril, in view of the sensitive character of the court to its own dignity, and the power of punishing any contempt committed towards them, by fine and imprisonment.

Fortunately the Chief Justice, for some reason, did not attend the term, as it had been expected he would have done, and the business was not any further interrupted. But the Chief Justice was highly indignant with his brethren that they had suffered the measure to pass unpunished. “Had any of my brethren,” said he, “been charged in so infamous a manner, I would for ever have quitted the bench, rather than have suffered such an indignity to them to have passed unnoticed.”

The protest was drawn by Colonel Henshaw; and among those whose names it bears was Timothy Bigelow, who was afterwards a major in Arnold's expedition to Canada, for whom Mount Bigelow, in Maine, was named; and was subsequently the gallant commander of the famous Fifteenth Regiment in the Massachusetts line of the Continental army. Some of the best-known families in the State claim him as their ancestor.

This was the last term of the court held in Worcester County under royal administration, and was soon followed by a general cessation of all civil authority of the royal government in the Province. On

the 17th of June, 1774, General Gage, by proclamation, dissolved the General Court; and from that time till the 19th July, 1775,—more than a year,—the people of Massachusetts presented a moral spectacle, which is hardly to be surpassed in history, of a self-governed community in the incipient stages of a war, whose only rulers were men voluntarily chosen by them, with no executive prerogative; whose recommendations were laws, and to whose officers, military as well as civil, willing and unquestioning obedience was rendered. These representative bodies of the people were of two kinds: one made up of delegates from towns in the whole Province, who took the name of Provincial Congress, and met for the first time at Salem, Oct. 7, 1774; the others made up of the delegates, or committees of correspondence, of the towns, who came together in the several counties, having a more limited scope of action, and yet adopting measures to carry forward the great work of furnishing, arming, and providing for troops, and maintaining good order in the community. The first of these meetings was held at Worcester, on the 9th August, 1774; and was continued, by adjournment, till May 31, 1775. It consisted of the several "committees of correspondence" of that county. Colonel Henshaw, a delegate from Leicester, was chosen clerk, and took an active part in the proceedings. On the 21st September, the convention advised to the "organizing and officering" seven regiments of troops in that county; and, upon the motion of Colonel Henshaw, recommended that one-third of the men of the respective towns, between sixteen and sixty years of age, be enlisted, "to be ready to act at a minute's warning," and that each town in the county choose a sufficient number of men as a committee "to supply and support those troops that shall move on any emergency." This was the origin of that most efficient organization known as "minute-men," who evinced their claim to the title by the promptness with which they acted. In the case of the company which was raised in Leicester, a messenger having reached the town on the 19th April, a little after noon, giving the alarm that the British troops had marched for Lexington, the members were collected from their farms, over a territory of six miles square, and were mustered, and began their march for Cambridge, within four hours after the alarm was given. A regiment of these minute-men was organized in Worcester County, of which Mr. Henshaw was the colonel.

Immediately upon hearing the alarm on the 19th, Colonel Henshaw took measures to assemble the officers of his regiment at Worcester;

and by ten o'clock that night they were there, ready with arms, ammunition, and one week's provision, and reached Cambridge the next forenoon. He remained at Cambridge till the 16th June, when he was discharged, and left for home. During his stay at Cambridge he was not inactive. He was a member of the council of war; and, as one of a committee of that body, he, together with Colonel Gridley and Mr. Richard Devens, of this committee, in connection with a delegation from the committee of safety, on the 12th of May, 1775, reconnoitred the high lands in Cambridge and Charlestown, and made a report, signed by Colonel Henshaw, as chairman of a sub-committee of the council of war, and Dr. Church, on the part of the committee of safety, wherein they recommended several points at which breast-works and redoubts should be constructed between Cambridge and Charlestown; "also, a strong redoubt to be raised on Bunker's Hill, with cannon planted there to annoy the enemy coming out of Charlestown, also to annoy those going by water to Medford. When these are finished, we apprehend the country will be safe from all sallies of the enemy in that quarter." This report was made to the committee of safety; but they declined to take action or advise upon the matter, as the question should rest wholly with the council of war. It has been generally understood that it was in pursuance of this recommendation that Colonel Prescott was detailed to erect works on Bunker's Hill on the 16th June; though, in the end, he concluded to occupy Breed's instead of Bunker's Hill.

On the 23d June, the Provincial Congress, who, as already stated, appointed and commissioned officers of the Provincial army around Boston, requested General Ward, the commander-in-chief, to nominate an adjutant-general of the forces. This he did; and, on the 27th of that month, Colonel Henshaw was commissioned to that office. Upon the arrival of General Washington, with General Gates, who had been commissioned by the Continental Congress as adjutant-general of the American Army, Colonel Henshaw was thereby superseded. This was on the 3d July, 1775; and Colonel Henshaw was about to return home, when he was induced to remain in the service as assistant to General Gates. The account he gives in memoranda left by him, and made a short time before his death, is as follows: "I rode three or four days around the camp, showing him [Gates] the regiments and the colonels, intending to return home. He requested me to stay through the campaign, as he could not do without an assistant, and I should have the same pay and rations as a colonel. General

Gates told me to write to the Continental Congress for my wages, and he would write them that he had employed me and promised me the same pay as a colonel. I never wrote them, and have never received any pay for my services." *

At the close of the campaign, Colonel Henshaw returned to his farm. But upon the personal solicitation of General Washington, after a month or two, he was induced to accept office in the Continental service, under the following circumstances, as stated by him: "Previous to the campaign of 1776, there were three regiments commanded by lieutenant-colonels, and General Washington offered me the command of either of them. I went and conversed with the officers, and found them averse to it; and informed General Washington that, if I accepted his offer, it would be injurious to the service, and declined it. He then told me he hoped I would not leave the service, but take a lieutenant-colonel's commission, which I did under Colonel Little; and in April marched to New York, in General Greene's brigade. Soon after, General Washington came and ordered said brigade to Long Island."

His regiment was in the disastrous battle of Long Island, in August, 1776. When it began, he was stationed at Flatbush, and was in command of a picket guard, and found himself cut off from the body of the Continental troops by the sudden advance of the enemy between him and their encampment. The details of the battle as given in the histories of that day are too numerous for a place in this memoir; but there were those alive within the memory of many now living who participated in the events of that day, and have often related the part which Colonel Henshaw's detachment took in them, and uniformly ascribed to it great gallantry in cutting its way through the Hessian troops with an overwhelming superiority in numbers. There is a very brief and unassuming account of it in a letter which he wrote to his wife, the day after the battle, and before the army began their memorable retreat to the main-land: "We have had an engagement with the enemy, were surrounded by them, and had a number killed and taken. I was with the party that were surrounded,

* If any of the orders contained in the Orderly Book of Colonel Henshaw, herewith published, should be found to correspond, substantially, with what have been published from other sources, it will not be difficult to understand how this may have happened from the circumstance of his co-operating in duty with General Gates, instead of having a distinct department to himself.

and, through a kind Providence, got through their fire without being wounded or taken; the particulars of which I have not time to relate, as the enemy are close to us, and we expect to be attacked every hour." His statement of the affair, as given a short time before his death, when his memory had been somewhat impaired, is: "I commanded a picket-guard at Flatbush, where the enemy were encamped, who marched and formed a line between us and our encampment. Knowing we could not receive orders, we marched for our lines. We fortunately *got on* with little loss." But, as showing how sudden the movement on his part was, he states that "he lost his saddle-bags, spurs, night-clothes, and gloves, which he had not time to take with him."

After that he was, for some time, with his regiment in the neighborhood of King's Bridge and White Plains, and took an active part in the battle at the latter place. At this time he was again offered a colonelcy of a regiment, which he declined, as he did not think it right to prefer a junior officer to those who, by the disbanding of their regiments by expiration of the times of their enlistments, would be deprived of their commands. When the army marched into New Jersey, his regiment was under the command of General Lee until he was taken prisoner, when his place was filled by General Sullivan. During this time his regiment was under his command in the absence of its colonel, and was with Washington at Trenton, Princeton, and Morristown; at which place, having resigned his office, Colonel Henshaw left the army, in February, 1777. The reason for this step was the number of officers who had lost their command by the disbanding of their regiments; and the demands of a young family, which called him home as a matter of personal duty. He left the service, however, with great reluctance, as his taste naturally led him to a military life, and this had been strengthened by his early and later experiences in active service. But he did not retire from public life, nor lose a jot of interest in the affairs of the country, upon withdrawing from the army. He was repeatedly chosen to represent his town of Leicester in the General Court, and was for many years an active magistrate in the county.

Colonel Henshaw married, for his second wife, Phebe Swan, a daughter of Dudley Wade Swan, of Leicester; and among the children of the marriage was one to whom he gave the name of his old associate in arms, Horatio Gates, who died in 1860, at the age of seventy-one, a much respected citizen of Leicester. Colonel Henshaw himself died

in February, 1820, at the age of eighty-four; his wife having died in 1808.

Enough has appeared in this incomplete sketch of the life of Colonel Henshaw to show that he possessed many strong and decided traits of character; but it can, at best, give a very imperfect idea of his personal qualities as a citizen and a member of society. In his deportment and manner there was a courtesy and dignity which had been cultivated by his association with military life, and the distinguished men of his day. He was a gentleman of the old school in his dress as well as personal bearing. He rode a horse with grace and ease; and, when walking, moved with an erect figure and a firm and measured step. He never gave up the cocked-hat, boots, and spurs which were characteristic of the men of the Revolution. He was social in his habits, conversed with fluency and ease, and had a store of interesting incidents and agreeable memories of the war and the men he had known, which made him a welcome guest and companion with the young as well as the old. In his life he exemplified his profession as a Christian, and was a liberal supporter of the religious and educational interests of the town, where he was universally respected and esteemed.

He belonged to a class of men who seem to have been raised up by Providence to plan and carry through the Revolution, and lay the foundation of a free and independent Republic. Like most of his associates, his politics were of the school of Washington and Hamilton, before offices had become "spoils," to be won by feats of unscrupulous political partisanship. And if the memoir of one whose life was chiefly spent upon his farm, amidst the duties of a citizen and the courtesies of a Christian gentleman, can do no more, it may serve to keep alive the remembrance of the class of men, and their qualities, who left to their posterity the heritage of freedom which they had won by their patriotism and courage.

[The following memoranda are copied from Colonel Henshaw's Family Bible; most of the entries being in his own handwriting.]

WILLIAM HENSHAW, son of DANIEL and ELIZABETH BASS HENSHAW, of Boston, was married to RUTH SARGEANT, daughter of JONATHAN SARGEANT, of Leicester, on the fourth day of February, 1762.

Their children are as follows:—

1. Sarah Henshaw born Nov. 4, 1762.
2. Elizabeth Henshaw Sept. 8, 1764.
3. William Henshaw, Jr. Feb. 17, 1767.

WILLIAM HENSHAW, son of DANIEL and ELIZABETH HENSHAW aforesaid, was married to PHEBE SWAN, daughter of DUDLEY WADE SWAN, of Leicester, on the twelfth day of September, 1771.

Their children are as follows:—

1. Ruth Henshaw born Dec. 15, 1772.
2. Joseph Henshaw Sept. 11, 1774.
3. Phebe Henshaw Dec. 4, 1777.
4. William Henshaw Jan. 7, 1780.
5. Daniel Henshaw May 9, 1782.
6. Katherine Henshaw May 11, 1784.
7. Lucinda Henshaw Sept. 23, 1786.
8. Horatio Gates Henshaw Sept. 21, 1788.
9. Benjamin Henshaw Dec. 7, 1793.
10. Almira Henshaw Feb. 1, 1796.

RUTH, wife of WILLIAM HENSHAW, deceased Jan. 1, 1769, aged twenty-five years.

Sarah Scott deceased April 19, 1838.
Elizabeth Flint Aug. 7, 1827.
William Henshaw, Jr. June 9, 1772.

PHEBE, wife of WILLIAM HENSHAW, was born Jan. 12, 1753. Deceased Nov. 5, 1808, aged fifty-five years.

Ruth H. Bascom deceased Feb. 16, 1846.
Joseph Henshaw July 15, 1855.
Phebe Denny Aug. 11, 1815.
William Henshaw Oct. 18, 1802.
Daniel Henshaw July 9, 1863.
Katherine Henshaw Jan. 14, 1806.
Lucinda H. Daugherty Feb. 19, 1870.
Horatio Gates Henshaw May 7, 1860.
Benjamin Henshaw Jan. 18, 1795.
Almira Henshaw Nov. 28, 1831.

ORDERLY BOOK.*

The Regiment of the Hon. Artemas Ward, Esq.†

JONATHAN WARD, Lieut.-Colonel.

EDWARD BARNES, 1st Major.

TIMOTHY BIGELOW, 2d Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Josiah Fay.	Joseph Livermore.	Loring Lincoln.
Seth Washburn.	Ezra Beman.	Asa Rice.
Job Cushing.	William Morse.	Paul Bridgham.
Daniel Barnes.	Abel Perrey.	Aaron Abbey.
James Millen.	Asaph Sherman.	Jonas Brown.
Luke Drury.	.	William Gates.
Jonas Hubbard.	.	Thomas Seever.
Samuel Hood.	.	Obadiah Mann.
Moses Weelock.	.	Elisha Liman.
— Smith.	Moses Kellogg.	
	James Hart	Adjutant.
	William Boyd	Quartermaster.
	—	Surgeon.

The Hon. John Thomas, Esq.'s Regiment.‡

THE HON. JOHN THOMAS, Esq., Colonel.

JOHN BAILEY, Jun., Lieut.-Colonel.

THOMAS MITCHELL, Major.

JOHN JACOBS, 2d Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Amos Turner.	Prince Stetson.	Joshua Barstow.
Samuel Stockbridge.	Attwood Mott.	Caleb Nickolls.
Nathaniel Winslow.	Joshua Jacobs.	Nathaniel Chittenden.
Freedom Chamberlain.	John Turner, Jun.	John Leavitt.
Eleazar Hamlin.	Amos Shaw.	Increase Robinson.

* At the top of the first page is the following memorandum in the handwriting of Colonel Henshaw: "Present from Colo. Joseph Reed, Esq., to Wm. Henshaw, July 6th, 1775." — Eds.

† In the list of commissions ordered to be given out to General Ward's regiment, May 23, 1775, and printed in 4 Force's American Archives, II., 823, only the first nine companies are included; and the names of John Smith, Timothy Brigham, and Thomas Bond are given as lieutenants of the companies commanded by Captains Hubbard, Hood, and Weelock, respectively. In Force's list there are several variations in the spelling of the names, of which only two are important, — Miller instead of Millen, and Wood instead of Hood. Henshaw's handwriting is very clear and exact, and in each instance it is impossible to mistake the name as he has written it. In Force's lists the second lieutenants are called ensigns. — Eds.

‡ In the list printed in 4 Force, II., 825, 826, there are several variations in spelling which are obviously mistakes of the copyist. The name of the second lieutenant of Captain Stockbridge's company is also given as Nicholson, and Solomon Shaw appears as second lieutenant of Captain Read's company, instead of David Cobb. — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
William Read.	Samuel Brown.	David Cobb.
Josiah Haden.	Zechariah Gurney.	Joseph Cole, Jun.
Daniel Lothrop.	Ephraim Jackson.	Abner Hayward.
Elijah Crooker.	King Laphan.	Jacob Rogers.
James Allen.	Jacob Allen.	Perez Warren.
	Luther Bailey	Adjutant.
	Adam Bailey	Quartermaster.
	Lemuel Cushing	Surgeon.

*Regiment.**

ASA WHETCOMB, Esq., Colonel.
 JOSIAH WITNEY, Lieut.-Colonel.
 EPHRAIM SAWYER, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
John Fuller.	Ebenezer Bridge.	Jared Smith.
Ephraim Richardson.	Seth Haywood.	Ephraim Boynton.
David Wilden.	Ebenezer Wood.	Jabez Keep.
Abner Cranson.	Jon ^a Guild.	Samuel West.
James Burt.	John Kindrick.	Jonathan Sawyer.
Robert Longley.	Silvanus Smith.	Ephraim Smith.
Jon ^a Davis.	Jacob Pool.	Ezekiel Foster.
Edmund Bemis.	Elisha Fullsome.	John Mead.
Andrew Haskell.	John Wyman.	Benjamin West.
Agrippa Wills.	John Hoar.	David Foster.
Benjamin Hastings.	John Houghton.	Jonathan Meriam.
	Jeremiah Guager	Adjutant.
	William Dunmore	Surgeon.
	Jeremiah Larton	Quartermaster.

Regiment.†

JOSEPH READ, Esq., Colonel.
 EBENEZER CLAP, Lieut.-Colonel.
 CALVIN SMITH, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Oliver Pond.	Wigglesworth Messenger.	Elias Bacon.
Samuel Payson.	Royal Kellock.	Enoch Hewins.

* The list of Colonel Whitcomb's regiment, June 3, 1775, in 4 Force, II., 827, does not contain the names of the regimental officers, and there are numerous variations in the company officers. Benjamin Hastings and his two lieutenants do not appear, as they were not recommended for commissions until June 30. Captains Wilden, Longley, and Wills are called Wilder, Langley, and Wells, and these are no doubt the correct spellings. The lieutenants of Captain Burt's company are given as Ebenezer Woods and Jabez Keep, instead of John Kindrick and Jonathan Sawyer, who are assigned to Captain Haskell's company. Captain Wilder's lieutenants are Jonathan Quits and Timothy Boutall, neither of whom appears in Colonel Henshaw's list. Captain Wells's lieutenants are given as Jacob Poole and Ezekiel Foster; and Captain Davis's as Elisha Fallum and John Mead, while Wyman and Benjamin West are assigned to Cranston, and Hoar and David Foster to Bemis. Guild and Samuel West do not appear in Force's list. — Eds.

† The list (May 18, 1775) in 4 Force, II., 823, has Hezekiah Chapman as chaplain, Levi Willard as surgeon, and Joseph Adams as surgeon's mate. Instead of Petty and Farmer among the lieutenants his list gives Potter and Farrer. — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Andrew Peters.	Levi Alderich.	William Dalling.
William Briggs.	Simon Leach.	Jedidiah Southworth.
Seth Bullard.	Thomas Petty.	Ezekiel Plimton.
Samuel Warren.	Joseph Cody.	George Whipple.
David Batchelor.	Benjamin Farmer.	Robert Taft.
Samuel Cobb.	Japhet Daniels.	Amos Ellis.
Moses Knapp.	Nehemiah White.	Benj ^r Capron.
Edward Segrave.	Job Knap.	Peter Taft.
	John Holden	Adjutant.
	William Jennison	Quartermaster.
	. . . .	Surgeon.

*Timothy Walker, Esq's Regiment.**

TIMOTHY WALKER, Colonel.

NATHANIEL LEONARD, Lieut.-Colonel.

ABIEL MITCHEL, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
John Perry.	John Pain.	James Bucklin.
Samuel Bliss.	Aaron Walker.	Joseph Allen.
Silas Cobb.	Isaac Smith.	Isaac Fisher.
Francis Liscomb.	Matthew Randel.	Seth Pratt.
Macy Williams.	Samuel Lane.	John Cook.
Peter Pitts.	Zebedee Praideau.	Henry Briggs.
Caleb Richardson.	Enoch Robinson.	Solomon Stanley.
John King.	Noah Hall.	Abraham Hathway.
Oliver Soper.	Simeon Cobb.	Thomas Williams.
Samuel Tubbs, Jun.	John Shaw.	Joel Tubbs.
	Mason Shaw	Adjutant.
	Jacob Fuller	Quartermaster.
	David Parker	Surgeon.

Theophilus Cotton, Esq's Regiment.†

THEOPHILUS COTTON, Colonel.

ICHABOD ALDEN, Lieut.-Colonel.

EBENEZER SPROUT, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Thomas Mahew.	Nathan Lewis.	Benjamin Warren.
Earl Clapp.	Isaac Pope.	Charles Church.
John Bradford.	Jesse Shirtefant.	Thomas Sampson.
John Brigham.	Edward Sparrow.	Nehemiah Cobb.
Joshua Benson.	William Thomson.	James Smith.
Isaac Wood.	Abiel Townsend.	Foxwell Thomas.
Peleg Wadworth.	Seth Drew.	Joseph Sampson.
Samuel Bradford.	Andrew Sampson.	Judah Alden.

* The list in 4 Force, II., 823, gives the name of the surgeon as Daniel Park instead of David Parker, and has Raidean instead of Prideau. — EDS.

† The list in 4 Force, II., 824, 825, May 23, 1775, names William Thomas as surgeon and John Thomas as surgeon's mate, and has John Bradford instead of Samuel Bradford, Jesse Sturtefant instead of Jesse Shirtefant, Archelaus Cole instead of Arcippus Cole, and Judah Allen instead of Judah Alden. — EDS.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Amos Wade.	Arcippus Cole.	Lemuel Wood.
Edward Hammon.	Timothy Ruggles.	Nathan Sears.
	Joshua Thomas	Adjutant.
	John Cotton	Quartermaster.
	_____	Surgeon.

*Regiment.**

JOHN MANSFIELD, Esq., Colonel.
 ISRAEL HUTCHINSON, Lieut.-Colonel.
 EZRA PUTNAM, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Ezra Newall.	Zadock Buffington.	John Peirce.
Enoch Putnam.	John Dodge.	Benj ^s Crafts.
Ebenezer Francis.	James Bancroft.	James Matthews.
Asa Prince.	John Upton.	Grimes Tufts.
Benj ^s Kimball.	Job Whipple.	Benjamin Gardiner.
Thomas Barns.	Nathaniel Cleaves.	Joseph Henrick.
Addison Richardson.	Francis Cocks.	Frederick Reed.
John Low.	Stephen Wilkins.	Archb ^d Batchelor.
Gideon Foster.	Bille Porter.	Hartfail White.
Nathan Brown.	Ephraim Emerton.	Thomas Downing.
_____	_____	Adjutant.
_____	_____	Quartermaster.
_____	_____	Surgeon.

Regiment.†

TIMOTHY DANIELSON, Esq., Colonel.
 WILLIAM SHEPPARD, Lieut.-Colonel.
 DAVID LEONARD, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Silvanus Walker.	Esau Coburn.	Samuel Flower.
Enoch Cheapin.	Luke Day.	John Sheppard, Jun.
Warren Parks.	Richard Fally.	Lem ^d Bancroft.
Lebbeius Ball.	Levi Dunham.	
Gedeon Burt.	Aaron Still.	Walter Pinchon.
Paul Langdon.	Avery Parker.	Daniel Cadwell.

* The list in 4 Force, II., 826, omits the names of the staff officers, and has Francis Fox instead of Francis Cocks, John Reese instead of John Peirce, Simeon Tufts instead of Grimes Tufts, Herrick instead of Henrick, and omits Downing's Christian name; and there are some other slight variations. — Eds.

† The list in 4 Force, II., 826, May 27, 1775, has David Sheppard as surgeon, omits the name of the second lieutenant in Walker's company; has Cadwell as first lieutenant in Langdon's company, and omits the name of his second lieutenant; omits the names of Burt's or Burst's two lieutenants; has Enos Chapin and Warham Parks instead of Enoch Cheapin and Warren Parks; Farguison instead of Furgerson; omits Peters, Egrees and his two lieutenants, and Kempton and his two lieutenants; and adds Jonathan Bardwell as captain, with William Gillmore and Moses How for lieutenants; and also omits from the lists of lieutenants, Still, Parker, Lemuel Bancroft, Pinchon, and Pickens, and adds to the first lieutenants Samuel Flower, Caleb Keep, J. Shepperd, Jr., Samuel Bancroft, and David Hambleton [Hamilton?], and names as second lieutenants Day, John Carpenter, Falley, and Dunham. — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Daniel Egrees.	Seth Smith.	John Pickens.
Nathan Peters.	. . . .	Josiah Winter.
John Furgerson.	. . . .	David Hamilton.
Thomas Kempton.	John Chadwick.	Amos Saper.
	William Toogood	Adjutant.
	William Young	Quartermaster.
	— — — — —	Surgeon.

*Regiment.**

WILLIAM PRESCOTT, Esq., Colonel.
JOHN ROBINSON, Lieut.-Colonel.
HENRY WOOD, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Henry Farewell.	Levi Witney.	Benj ^r Ball.
Hugh Maxwell.	Joseph Stebbins.	. . . .
John Nutting.	Nathan ^l Lakin.	John Moshen.
Joshua Parker.	Amariah Fassett.	Thomas Rogers.
Asa Parker.	Ebenezer Spaulden.	. . . .
Eliphalet Densmore.	Joseph Spaulden.	John Williams.
Oliver Parker.	Joseph Gilbert.	Thomas Spaulden.
Joseph Moore.	Ephraim Corey.	Thomas Cummings.
Abijah Wyman.	. . . .	Joseph Baker.
Samuel Gilbert.	. . . .	. . . .
Samuel Patch.	Joshua Brown	. . . .
Reuben Dow.	John Goss.	. . . .
	William Green	Adjutant.
	— — — — —	Quartermaster.
	— — — — —	Surgeon.

Regiment.†

JAMES FRYE, Esq., Colonel.
JAMES BRICKETT, Lieut.-Colonel.
THOMAS POOR, Major.

* The list in 4 Force, II., 824, May 25, 1775, has only the names of the first four captains, with Asa Lawrence, Elpt. Dinamore, Samuel Patch, and Oliver Parker, as first lieutenants, and Abijah Wyman, Timo. Woodward, and Joseph Moor, as second lieutenants; but in two recommendations of the Committee of Safety, June 22, and June 23, Samuel Patch is named as a captain, and Zachary Walker and Joshua Brown as lieutenants in his company; and the following persons are also named: Ebenezer Spalding as first lieutenant, Thomas Rogers second lieutenant in Parker's company; John Williams as first lieutenant, Thomas Spalding second lieutenant in Lawrence's company, and Ball, Mosher, Cummings, and Baker as second lieutenants in Farwell's, Nutting's, Wyman's, and Gilbert's companies respectively. — Eds.

† In copying this roster, Colonel Henshaw evidently made several mistakes. The list in 4 Force, II., 825, gives Daniel Hardy, adjutant; Thomas Kitteridge, surgeon; Benjamin Foster, quartermaster; Benjamin Varnum, surgeon's mate; and William Hudson as the name of the captain. It also includes Samuel Johnson, Nathaniel Herrick, John Robinson, Thomas Stickney, Timothy Johnson, John Merritt, Wells Chasse, — Fox, and Ballard Foller as first lieutenants; Cyrus Marble, Issac Abbot, Eliphalet Bodwill, Benjamin Pearly, Eliphalet Hardy, Nathaniel Eaton, Reuben Evans, and — Reed as second lieutenants. Colonel Henshaw, however, is right with regard to the name of the captain, William Hudson Ballard. (See General Orders, Aug. 9th.) — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
John Davis.		
William Pearly.		
Nathan ¹ Gage.		
James Sawyer.		
Jonathan Evans.		
John Currier.		
Benj ¹ Farnum.		
William Hudson Ballard.		
Jonas Richardson.		
Benjamin Ames.	David Chandler.	
	Thomas Kitteridge	Adjutant.
	Daniel Hardy	Quartermaster.
	Benjamin Foster	Surgeon.

*Regiment.**

THOMAS GARDNER, Esq., Colonel.
 WILLIAM BOND, Lieut.-Colonel.
 MICHAEL JACKSON, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Thomas Drury.	William Maynard.	Joseph Mixer.
Phineas Cook.	Josiah Warren.	Aaron Richardson.
Nathan Fuller.	Nathan Smith.	John George.
Isaac Hall.	Caleb Brooks.	Samuel Cutler.
Josiah Harris.	Barthol ¹ Irace.	Thomas Miller.
Abner Craft.		John Child.
Abijah Child.	Joshua Swan.	Jedidiah Thayer.
Benjamin Lock.	Soloman Bowman.	Stephen Frost.
Moses Draper.	Ebenezer Brattle.	. . . . .
Nailer Hatch.	. . . . .	. . . . .
_____	. . . . .	Adjutant.
_____	. . . . .	Quartermaster.
_____	. . . . .	Surgeon.

Regiment.†

JOHN NIXON, Esq., Colonel.
 THOMAS NIXON, Lieut.-Colonel.
 JOHN BUTTERICK, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Joseph Butler.	Silas Walker.	
Abeih Brown.	Daniel Taylor.	Silas Mann.
William Smith.	John Heald.	John Hartwell.
Micajah Gleason.	Jonas Kimball.	W ^m Ryan.
Moses McFarland.	David Bradley.	Jacob Quimby.
David Moore.	Micah Goodenow.	Jonathan Hill.
Thomas Drury.	William Maynard.	Joseph Mixer.

* In the list in 4 Force, II., 827, we have Downy instead of Drury, Trow instead of Irace, Josiah Swan instead of Joshua Swan, Muier instead of Mixer, and Cutter instead of Cutler. — Eds.

† The only names in 4 Force, II., 829, are those of the last three captains and their lieutenants. In his list Pattee is given as Patten, Riggs as Briggs, and Mixer as Muier. — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Samuel McCobb.	Benjamin Pattee.	John Riggs.
Ebenez' Winship.	William Warren.	Richard Buckminster.
	Abel Holden	Adjutant.
	John White	Quartermaster.
	_____	Surgeon.

*Regiment.**

EBENEZER BRIDGE, Esq., Colonel.
 MOSES PARKER, Lieut.-Colonel.
 JOHN BROOKS, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Jonathan Stickney.	Elijah Danforth.	John Lewis.
Benjamin Walker.	John Flint.	Ebenez' Fitch.
John Batchelor.	Ebenezer Dammon.	James Bancroft.
Ebenezer Bancroft.	Nathan' Holden.	Samuel Brown.
Peter Coburn.	Josiah Forster.	Ebenezer Vernon.
John Ford.	Isaac Parker.	Jonas Parker.
John Rowe.	Mark Pool.	Ebene' Cleveland.
Archelaus Towne.	James Ford.	David Wallingsford.
John Harnden.	W ^m Blanchard.	Eleazer Stickney.
Charles Forbush.	Jere Blanchard.	James Silver.
	Joseph Fox	Adjutant.
	John Bridge	Quartermaster.
	Walter Hastings	Surgeon.

Regiment.†

JOHN PATERSON, Esq., Colonel.
 SETH READ, Lieut.-Colonel.
 JERIMIAH CADY, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Samuel Kelson.	John Bacon.	Nahum Powers.
William Wyman.	Samuel Chapin.	Peter White.
Joseph Moss.	William Bowdoin.	_____
Samuel Sloan.	Zebadiah Sabius.	Enos Parker.
Charles Dibben.	Simeon Smith.	_____
William Goodrich.	David Pixley.	_____
David Noble.	Joseph Walch.	Josiah Wright.
Thomas Williams.	Moses Ashley.	Orange Stoddard.
Nathan Haskins.	William Clark.	Samuel Wilcocks.
Theodore Bliss.	John Lampson.	Francis Cabot.
	_____	Adjutant.
	_____	Quartermaster.
	_____	Surgeon.

* The list in 4 Force, II., 826, does not contain the names of the officers of the last four companies and of the quartermaster and surgeon. In Colonel Henshaw's list the names of the captains of the last three companies and of the quartermaster and surgeon are not in his handwriting, and are in a different colored ink. — Eds.

† The list in 4 Force, II., 825, contains only the first nine companies, and has Shelton instead of Kelson, Dibbell instead of Dibben, Watkins instead of Haskins, Boudin instead of Bowdoin, and Wilche instead of Walch. It also designates Parker as second lieutenant in Wyman's company, and White as second lieutenant in Dibben or Dibbell's company; and it transposes Stoddard and Ashley, whose Christian name is wanting in Force's list. — Eds.

*Regiment.**

JAMES SCAMMONS, Colonel.

JOHNSON MOULTON, Lieut.-Colonel.

DAVID WOOD, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Samuel Derby.	James Donnall.	Joshua Trafton.
Tobias Fernald.	Thomas Cutts.	Parker Forster.
Ebenezer Sullivan.	Thomas Butler.	Nathaniel Lord.
Samuel Sawyer.	William Cozins.	Jeremiah Littlefield.
Jeremiah Hill.	Samuel Merrit.	Peter Page.
Joshua Bragdon.	Morgan Lewis.	Moses Sweet.
Jessee Dormom.	Daniel Merrett.	Joseph Pettingill.
Samuel Leighton.	William Farnall.	William Frost.
Jonathan Newall.	Thomas Newhall.	Edward Low.
Phillip Hubbard.	Jedidiah Goodwin.	James Roberts.
	George Marsden	Adjutant.
	Samuel Nason	Quartermaster.
	—	Surgeon.

Regiment.†

EBENEZER LARNARD, Esq., Colonel.

DANFORTH KYES, Lieut.-Colonel.

JONATHAN HOLMAN, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Peter Hairwood.	Asa Danforth.	Benja ^s Pollard.
Adam Martin.	Abel Mason.	Benjamin Felton.
John Grainger.	Matthew Grey.	. . . .
Joel Green.	David Bouty.	. . . .
Samuel Billings.	Barnes Sears.	Stephen Goreham.
William Campbell.	Reuben Davis.	Thomas Fisk.
Arther Faggot.	Jonathan Carroll.	John Haywood.
Nathaniel Healy.	Salem Town.	. . . .
Samuel Curtis.	Samuel Larned.	W ^m Polly.
Isaac Bolster.	John Hasleton.	. . . .
	— Banister	Adjutant.
	—	Quartermaster.
	—	Surgeon.

Regiment.‡

JOHN FELLOWS, Esq., Colonel.

NATHAN EAGER, Lieut.-Colonel.

BENJAMIN TUPPER, Major.

* In the list in 4 Force, II., 824, there are numerous variations in the spelling. Of these the most important are Madison instead of Marsden, Nowell instead of Newall and Newhall, Merill instead of Merrit and Merrett, Lather instead of Leighton, Cates and Cupont instead of Cutts and Cozins, and Frafton instead of Trafton. — Eds.

† The list in 4 Force, II., 823, has Doggett instead of Faggot, Prouty instead of Bouty, Fish instead of Fisk, Howard instead of Haywood, and some other slight variations in spelling. — Eds.

‡ The list in 4 Force, II., 826, 827, omits Steward Blake as second lieutenant in Hazleton's company, and adds Samuel Allen as second lieutenant in Webber's company. It also gives Warner instead of Warren, and Bostwick instead of Berwick, and there are several slight variations in spelling. — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
William King.	Samuel Brewer.	Gamaliel Whiting.
Jonathan Allen.	Oliver Lyman.	Jonathan Sterns.
Israel Chapin.	Perez Bardwell.	William Watson.
William Bacon.	John Hubbard.	Michael Loomes.
Moses Soule.	Noah Allen.	Solomon Dening.
Robert Webster.	Chris' Bannister.	Everton Berwick.
Ebenezer Pomroy.	—— Wallis.	Dan' Kirtland.
Abel Thayer.	Joseph Warren.	. . . . .
Eben. Webber.	Samuel Bartlet.	. . . . .
Simeon Hazleton.	George Blake.	Steward Blake.
Ebenezer Bennet	Adjutant.	
Seth Hunt	Quartermaster.	
———	Surgeon.	

*Regiment.**

EPHRAIM DOOLITTLE, Esq., Colonel.
 BENJAMIN HOLDEN, Lieut.-Colonel.
 WILLARD MOORE, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Joel Fletcher.	John Wheeler.	Jonas Prouter.
Adam Wheeler.	Elisha Sterns.	Adam Maynard.
Jon ^s Holman.	John Bowker.	David Poor.
John Jones.	Samuel Thomson.	. . . . .
Robert Oliver.	Thomas Glover.	Abraham Pennel.
Abel Wilder.	Jonas Allen.	Daniel Peek.
———	Adjutant.	
———	Quartermaster.	
———	Surgeon.	

Regiment.†

JONATHAN BREWER, Esq., Colonel.
 WILLIAM BUCKMINSTER, Lieut.-Colonel.
 NATHAN^l CUDWORTH, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Isaac Gray.	Thomas Willington.	—— Wilson.
Edward Blake.	Abraham Tuckerman.	John Eames.
John Black.	Benjamin Gates.	John Patrick.
Aaron Haynes.	Elisha Brewer.	. . . . .
Daniel Whiting.	Zebadiah Dewey.	. . . . .
Benjamin Bullard.	Aaron Gardiner.	. . . . .
Thaddeus Russelles.	Nathan ^l Maynard.	Nathan ^l Reeves.
———	Adjutant.	
———	Quartermaster.	
———	Surgeon.	

* The list in 4 Force, II., 828, has Bowkin instead of Bowker, Proctor instead of Prouter, Pike instead of Peek. — Eds.

† In the list in 4 Force, II., 829, the Christian name of Dewey is given as Obadiah instead of Zebadiah, and Joseph Stebbins is named as an eighth captain, but as he had on the 17th of June, 1775, only twenty-one men in his company, he was not commissioned. — Eds.

*Regiment.**

DAVID BREWER, Esq., Colonel.
RUFUS PUTNAM, Lieut.-Colonel.
NATHANIEL DANIELSON, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Homes Walbridge.	Jehiel Mungen.	James Blogget.
Peter Ingersol.	Silas Goodrich.	Thomas Barnham.
Levi Rounseval.	Henry Peirce.	Samuel Tabor.
Malcomb Henry.	John Gray.	David Sacket.
Isaac Cotton.	John Wright.	Nathan' Alexander.
Jonathan Bardwell.	William Gilmore.	Moses How.
Abiathar Angel.	Isaac Warren.	Simeon Larned.
John Packard.	David Brewer, Jun.	Jonathan Allen.
Jonathan Danforth.	Joseph McNeal.	Levi Bowin.
	Thomas Weeks	Adjutant.
	Ebenezer Washburn	Quartermaster.
	—	Surgeon.

Regiment.†

HON. W^m HEATH, Esq., Colonel.
JOHN GRATON, Lieut.-Colonel.
JOTHAIN LORING 2d, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Charles Cushing.	Elias Whitten.	Benjamin Beal.
Edward Payson Williams.	Samuel Forster.	Jonathan Dorr.
Moses Whiting.	Aaron Pain.	James Findale.
Joseph Guild.	John Gay.	Isaac Bullard.
John Boyd.	Ebenezer Dean.	Joshua Gould.
Elijah Vorse.	Phinias Pain.	William Sumner.
Silas Wild.	Nathaniel Niles.	William Herman.
Jacob Gould.	Asa Dyer.	— Shaw.
William Bent.	Theophilus Lyon.	Isajah Bussey.
Job Cushing.	Nathan' Nichols.	Josiah Oakes.

Regiment.‡

BENJAMIN RUGGLES WOODBRIDGE, Esq., Colonel.
ABIJAH BROWN, Lieut.-Colonel.
WILLIAM STACY, Major.

* There are numerous variations in the spelling of the names as given in 4 Force, II., 829, 830. Of these the most important are Walbridge instead of Walbridge, Colton instead of Cotton, Ithiel Mungar instead of Jehiel Munger, Rice instead of Peirce, Lackett instead of Sacket, and Lewis Boen instead of Levi Bowin. — Eds.

† Not in Force's lists. — Eds.

‡ The principal variations in the list in 4 Force, II., 828, are Cowden instead of Conder, Croaker instead of Crocker, Rowley instead of Rawley, Shay instead of Shaes, and Thomas Goodenough instead of Ithanor Goodnough. Shay is the person who afterward became famous as the leader in the insurrection called by his name. July 3d Asa Barnes was recommended for a commission as a captain, and Caleb Smith and Timothy Read as lieutenants in his company, and William Smith and Oliver Wagget as lieutenants in Captain King's company. Colonel Henshaw's lists were probably made out about the 1st of July. — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Reuben Dickerson.	Zacheus Crocker.	Daniel Shaes.
Noadiah Leonard.	Josiah Smith.	Samuel Gould.
Stephen Pearl.	Aaron Rawley.	Abner Pease.
David Conder.	. . . . .	. . . . .
John Cowles.	. . . . .	. . . . .
Ichabod Dexter.	Ithamor Goodnough.	John Mayo.
John King.	. . . . .	. . . . .
Seth Murray.	. . . . .	. . . . .

A List of Officers Commissioned by the Massachusetts Congress, dated May 19, 1775.

In Provincial Congress, June 30, 1775.

The committee appointed to make out commissions for the officers of the Colony Army do hereby certify that the following is a true list of the officers they have made out commissions for, and delivered.

TIMOTHY LANGDON.
JOSEPH WHEELER.

A true copy. Attest :

SAMUEL FREEMAN, Secretary.

William Henshaw, Esq., Adjutant-General, commissioned June 27.

The regiments as they stand in the *manuscript pamphlet*, sent the General by the Congress :—

The Hon. Artemas Ward, Esq.	Jonathan Brewer.
Timothy Danielson.	Joseph Reed.
Thomas Gardener.	John Paterson.
Timothy Walker.	David Brewer.
William Prescott.	John Mansfield.
John Nixon.	James Scammons.
John Fellows.	Hon. W ^m Heath.
Theophilus Cotton.	Ebenezer Larnard.
James Fry.	Benj ⁿ Ruggles Woodbridge.
Ephraim Doolittle.	John Glover.
Asa Whetcomb.	Moses Little.
Ebenezer Bridge.	Samuel Gerrish.

*Regiment.**

JOHN GLOVER, Esq., Colonel.
JOHN GERRY, Lieut.-Colonel.
GABRIEL JOHNNET, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
William Curtis.	Robert Harris.	Thomas Curtis.
W ^m Bacon.	William Mills.	Seward Lee.
Thomas Grant.	William Bubier.	Ebenazar Graves.

* The list in 4 Force, II., 828, 829, June 15, 1775, has the names of William Lee as a captain with John Glover and Edward Archbald as lieutenants in his company, and gives Broughton instead of Brornton, Bleeker instead of Blackler, Merritt instead of Merrils, Selmon instead of Salomon, Collyer instead of Calyer, T. Courts instead of Curtis, and Lignerass instead of Signcross. — EDS.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Joel Smith.	John Bray.	Joshua Orn.
Nicholas Brornton.	John Stacy.	John Devereux.
W ^m Blackler.	Nathan ^l Clark.	Nathan ^l Pearse.
John Merrils.	Joshua Prentice.	Robert Nimblet.
John Salomon.	Israel Calyer.	Edward Holeman.
Francis Symonds.	W ^m Russell.	George Signcross.

*Regiment.**

MOSES LITTLE, Esq., Colonel.
ISAAC SMITH, Lieut.-Colonel.
JAMES COLLINS, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Jacob Gerrish.	Silas Adams.	Thomas Brown.
Nathaniel Warner.	John Barnham.	Daniel Collins.
Nathaniel Wade.	Joseph Hodgkins.	Aaron Parker.
Ab ^d Dodge.	Eben ^m Low.	James Lord.
John Baker.	Caleb Lampson.	Daniel Dorser.
Ezra Lunt.	Moses Kent.	Nathan ^l Montgomery.
Benjamin Perkins.	Joseph Whitmore.	W ^m Strickney.
Gedion Parker.	Joseph Evelyn.	Moses Trask.
Joseph Robey.	Shubael Gorham.	Enoch Parsons.
Timothy Barnard.	Paul Lunt.	Amos Atkinson.
Stephen Jenkins	Adjutant.	
_____	Quartermaster.	
_____	Surgeon.	

Regiment.†

SAMUEL GERRISH, Esq., Colonel.
JAMES WESTON, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Richard Dodge.	Robert Dodge.	Paul Dodge.
W ^m Rogers.	Samuel Carr.	John Noyes.
Thomas Cogswell.	Moses Dunton.	Amos Cogswell.
John Wood.		
Timothy Cory.	Thomas Cumings.	Jonas Johnson.
Barnabas Dodge.	Mathew Fairfield.	Joseph Knight.
Thomas Mighill.	Thomas Pike.	Mark Creasy.
Christopher Febiger . . .	Adjutant.	
Michael Farley	Quartermaster.	
_____	Surgeon.	

* The list in 4 Force, II., 830, has Burman instead of Barnham, Wedkins instead of Hodgkins, Thompson instead of Lampson, Everly instead of Evelyn, and Brinard instead of Barnard. — Eds.

† The list in 4 Force, II., 830, June 22, 1775, gives Loammi Baldwin as lieutenant-colonel, Wessen as major, and David Jones as surgeon. It does not contain the names of Rogers and his two lieutenants, nor John Wood, and it includes Samuel Sprague as a captain with Joseph Cheever and William Oliver as his lieutenants, and John Baker, Jr., as a captain and Joseph Pettingill first lieutenant. — Eds.

Brigades.
Thomas's.
Spencer's.
Heath's.
Frye's.
Green's.
Sullivan's.

Brigade-Majors.
Brewer.
Trumbull.
Henley.
Cary.
Box.
Scammell.

Rifle Officers.
Colonel W^m THOMPSON.
Lieut.-Colonel EDW^m HAND.
Major ROB^t MAGAW.
Adjutant HOUSEACRE.
Quartermaster THO^s CRAIGE.
Surgeon W^m MAGAN.
Mate MATHEW IRWINE.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, April 20, 1775.

Sent a request to the Committees of Safety and Supplies for provision at Concord to be brought to Cambridge.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Colonel Gardner repair immediately to Roxbury, and bring all the bread that can be obtained.

Ordered, That Colonel Bond bring all the cannon at Watertown, Newtown, and Waltham, together with part of the ammunition, into camp at Cambridge.

*In Council of War.**

Generals.
Ward.
Heath.
Whitcombe.

Colonels.
Frye.
James Prescott.
W^m Prescott.
Bullard.
Spaulding.
Bridge.
Barrett.

Lieut.-Colonels.
Nixon.
Whitney.
Mansfield.
Wheelock.
Mann.

Ordered, That each colonel appoint for his regiment an adjutant, quartermaster, and sergeant-major.

Ordered, That Mr. Hastings be appointed steward to the army for the day.

GENERAL ORDERS. — All officers appointed before there is a regular establishment are appointed *pro tempore*.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That guards be posted as follows; viz.: —

Two companies in Charlestown Road, with advanced parties on the heights; one guard at Phips' Farm, one near the brickkiln, one at the bridge, and one towards Menotomy.† They are to keep a vigilant

* From an Orderly Book kept by John Fenno, secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, beginning April 20, 1775, and ending Sept. 6, 1775, now in the Library of the Historical Society, it appears that Joseph Ward, Secretary, and Samuel Osgood, A. D. C., were also present at this, the first, Council of War in the Revolution. — Eds.

† According to Fenno's Orderly Book, Colonel William Prescott was the officer in command. — Eds.

lookout, and, if the enemy make any movements, or if discovery should be made, to give immediate notice to the General.

That the guards parade near the meeting-house, and all adjutants do mount their men there; the town-house to be the guard-house at present.

That a guard be mounted, to consist of a subaltern, a sergeant, and corporal, with thirty men, for the general officers, and immediately attend at Captain Stedman's.

Mr. Bernsley Stevens appointed adjutant-general by the General.

That no guns be discharged in the streets in Cambridge without leave.

That a captain and fifty men do immediately march to bury the dead on the field of battle; one lieutenant, two sergeants, two corporals, to attend the party. This detachment is also ordered to take care of all the wounded that may be found on the road.

That every officer and soldier keep close to his quarters, and be ready to turn out complete in arms at a moment's warning and parade at the meeting-house.

That twenty men turn out of each regiment for the picket guard. That Colonel Spaulding command the guard, — two captains, four subalterns, four sergeants, and four corporals.

April 21st.

GENERAL ORDERS. — [That] Colonel Ward command the guard, — one captain, two subalterns, two sergeants, two corporals, forty rank and file, from each regiment.

The guards to be posted as follows: —

Two companies in Charlestown Road, with advanced guards on the heights: one guard towards Phips' Farm; one at Winter Hill, consisting of one subaltern, two sergeants, and twenty rank and file; one at the bridge; one towards Menotomy.

To keep a vigilant lookout; if the enemy make any movements, or any discovery is made, to give immediate notice to the General.

That each commander of a regiment or detachment now in camp, or that may hereafter arrive, take an exact list of the officers and soldiers by name, and make daily returns to the Adjutant-General of the number of officers and soldiers under his command, in the form following: —

A Return of Colonel ——— Regiment, April —, 1775.

<i>Colonels.</i>	<i>Lieut.-Colonels.</i>	<i>Major.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Subalterns.</i>	<i>Sergeants.</i>	<i>Drums and Fifes.</i>	<i>Rank and File.</i>	<i>Total.</i>

That the Commissary-General do supply the troops with provisions in the best manner he can, without spending time for exactness. That

the two hogsheads of powder in the possession of Mr. Pigion be lodged with John Goddard, at Brookline, for the use of the American troops.

That the officers of the guards who have the care of the prisoners do take the best care of them, and treat them in the kindest manner, and procure good surgeons to attend the wounded.

That Colonel Gerrish be the officer of the day.

That Colonel Prescott, Colonel Warner, and Colonel Learned, to march their regiments immediately to Roxbury, to join General Thomas, Friday afternoon.

That the picket guard consist of five hundred men, commanded by Colonel Doolittle, Lieut.-Colonel Nixen, Major Butterick, one captain from Colonel Gerrish's regiment, one captain from General Whitcomb, one captain from Colonel Frye, one captain from Colonel Peirce, one captain from Colonel Prescott, one captain from Colonel Bridge, one captain from General Ward, one captain from Colonel Asa Whitcomb, two captains from Hampshire, two subalterns from each regiment.

That the officer of the main guard direct all his officers to give immediate notice to him if any important discovery be made, and he give notice to the officer of the picket guard.

That the officer of the picket guard do immediately turn out upon any alarm, and march to the place of the alarm.

This day, General Putnam, of Connecticut, attended the Council of War.

The parole, "PUTNAM."

April 22d.

THE GENERAL ORDERS. — That Colonel Stark march to Chelsea, and take three hundred men with him, to defend the inhabitants of said town.

Captain Samuel Osgood appointed brigade-major.

The same as yesterday, Lieut.-Colonel Parker command the guards.

The picket guard the same as yesterday.

Colonel Joseph Henshaw, Lieut.-Colonel Denny, and Major Moore, commanding officers.

That Captain Brown, of Watertown, do appoint a proper guard-house for stragglers and persons to guard them who have had the small-pox, that the distemper may thereby be prevented from spreading among the inhabitants.

GENERAL ORDERS, to be read at the head of each regiment and department by the commanding officer. — Whereas many persons in Cambridge have left their houses and property: *Ordered*, that if any soldier is found to injure the interest of any person whatever, he be punished according to the rules of the army. That if any soldier discharge his gun, except against any enemy, the officer of the guard confine him.

That a sergeant and six men mount daily to guard the wounded at

Mr. Abraham Watson's house, and that they be taken from the main guard.

That General Heath have a guard appointed to attend him at his lodgings.

That a guard be appointed out of Captain Cook's company to prevent any injury that may happen to Judge Danford's house by persons entering the same. Guard to consist of a sergeant and seven privates.

That Colonel Green do march his regiment to Roxbury, and join General Thomas.

The parole, "SERGEANT."

April 23d.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That two companies mount guard at Mr. Richardson's.

That Captain Hill repair to Woburn, and apply to the selectmen for a suitable house for the reception of prisoners, and a guard of fifty men, and to know if the selectmen can provide provisions for the guard and prisoners.

Memorandum. — Reported, that Josiah Breed is a prisoner at Boston, and desired, that, if there should be an exchange of prisoners, he may be remembered.

April 24th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer of each regiment grant passes to such persons as bring provisions and clothing for the camp.

That General Thomas do send an officer, with a sufficient guard, to convoy a mortar and ordinance stores to Mr. John Goddard, in Brookline, where the powder is now deposited.

*April 25th.**

GENERAL ORDERS. — That each adjutant, sergeant-major, and orderly sergeant, be immediately provided with orderly-books, in order regularly to enter the orders of the army.

That the Adjutant-General obtain, as soon as possible, a complete return of the army, in order to form an equal duty-roll.

That the quartermaster of each regiment be directed to see that proper kettles be provided by loan from the inhabitants for the use of the Provincial troops, until the Province stores can be delivered out; and that the commanding officers of each company see that they are returned in proper season.

Officer for the day, Colonel William Henshaw.

Field-officers for the picket, Colonel Porter, Major Sawyer. The picket to consist of seven [captains], † fourteen subalterns, twenty-eight sergeants, three hundred and fifty rank and file.

* From Fenno's Orderly Book it appears that these orders were issued on the 24th, as well as the orders immediately preceding. They are probably what are elsewhere designated as "after orders." — Eds.

† Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book. — Eds.

Field-officers for the main guard, Colonel Bridge, Major Carter. Main guard to consist of six captains, twelve subalterns, twenty-four sergeants, three hundred rank and file. The aforesaid guard be paraded this morning at nine o'clock, and relieve the present guards.

April 25th.

Parole, "CHATHAM."

GENERAL ORDERS. — That vaults be dug in some convenient place for each regiment.

Adjutant of the day, Nathan Fuller.

Parole, "CHATHAM."

That Colonel Fry be officer of the day.

Field-officers for the picket, Colonel Prescott and Major Raymond. The picket to consist of seven captains, fourteen subalterns, twenty-eight sergeants, and three hundred and twenty rank and file.

Field-officers for the main guard, Colonel Green and Major Miller. Main guard to consist of six captains, twelve subalterns, twenty-four sergeants, three hundred and thirty rank and file; and that the aforesaid guards be provided this morning at nine o'clock, and relieve the present guards.

Adjutant of the day. — Guager.

AFTER ORDERS. — That one captain, two subalterns, and forty privates, be detached, and repair to the farthest guard in Charlestown Road, and then and there await the orders and directions of Mr Richard Devons, one of the Committee of Safety, . . . the guards to be posted as follows:—

Two companies in Charlestown Road, with advanced guards on the heights of land.

One guard towards Phips' Farm.

One at the bridge, one towards Menotomy, one at Winter Hill, consisting of one subaltern, two sergeants, and twenty rank and file.

That the sergeant and file of men who have the care of the prisoner named Divol convey him to Cambridge jail, and that the jail-keeper commit him to safe custody, and provide for his subsistence, and then that the said sergeant and file of men return to their duty.

That a court of inquiry be ordered by General Thomas to examine the prisoner named Brindley, and all others that may be afterwards taken, and discharge or confine them in such places as he shall judge suitable.

That the sergeant and file of men who have the care of Brindley safely guard him back to head-quarters in Roxbury.

That Captain Fox, with a party of twenty men, take prisoners Lieutenant Hamilton and his servant, and commit them to the place [the selectmen] have provided for them, and see that they have such things as are suitable for their comfortable subsistence.*

That the commanding officers of the main guard dismiss James

* The words between the brackets are supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book.
— Eds.

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Holden, under their care, and send him, with a sergeant and file of men, without the —— guards.*

That each guard keep a vigilant lookout, and, if any movements made by the enemy, or if any discovery is made, to give immediate intelligence to the next guard, and so from guard to guard, till it reaches the picket guard, who are to give immediate notice to the General, and parade the men.

That this order be handed to the succeeding guard, and so on, till further orders.

That the officer of the main guard and officer of the picket be immediately furnished with these orders.

April 26th.

Parole, "HANCOCK."

Officer of the day, Colonel Doolittle.

Field-officers of the picket, Lieut.-Colonel Holden, Major Bigelow.

Field-officers of main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett, Major Densmore:

That two companies be detached from the picket, and posted as follows; viz., one at Mrs. Inman's, and one in Charlestown Road.

That the reveille be beat every morning at four o'clock.

That, at the beating of the troop, the officers and privates be immediately assembled to parade.

That the tattoo be beat every evening at nine o'clock.

That, after the beating the tattoo, there be a profound silence through the camp.

Adjutant of the day, —— Southgate.

That the officers of the main guard order that a sentry be appointed out of the guard that is posted at the house of Captain Stedman, to be placed at the office of Mr. Pigion, commissary-general.

That the several regiments now at Watertown and Waltham march forward to Cambridge and Roxbury, their route to be directed by Colonel Porter.

That the commanding officer of the main guard post a sentry between the apparatus and library.

April 27th.

Parole, "BARRE."

Officer of the day, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officers of the picket, Colonel Ward, Major Butterick.

Field-officers of main guard, Colonel Robertson, Major Reed.

Adjutant of the day from Colonel Porter's regiment, —— Warner.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That as many men as are not enlisted, and incline to remain in the army, enlist immediately, in order that it may be ascertained what number it may still be necessary to be raised in each town to complete the complement of troops for this Province, and

* Fenno's Orderly Book has "without the camp." — Eds.

to forward to each town their remaining quota; and the men that now enlist may be assured that they shall have liberty to be under the command of such officers as may be appointed by the Committee of Safety, until the particular regiments and companies are completed; and the utmost care will be taken to make every soldier happy in being under good officers.

That the field-officers take care that one-fifth part of the training soldiers of each town from whence these companies came be immediately enlisted out of the troops assembled in camp; and, if a sufficient number cannot be enlisted agreeable to an equal quota, that, in such case, the deficiency of such quota be immediately forwarded by a recruiting officer to each town, and, in the mean time, a sufficient number of troops present be retained until the quota of the troops for this Province be raised.

Parole, "WILKS."

Officer of the day, Colonel W^m Prescott for to-morrow.

Field-officers of the main guard, Colonel Wilder, Major Brooks.

Field-officers of picket guard, Colonel Witney, Major Baldwin.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Herd.

Otherwise as usual.

That the head colonel and commanders of detachments in this encampment appear at head-quarters at three o'clock afternoon, to sit in council.

That no field-officer presume to give a pass to any person that come down for the defence of their liberties, without first having obtained leave from the General.

April 28th.

Parole, "NEW YORK."

Officer of the day, Colonel Bridge, for to-morrow.

Officers of main guard, Colonel Woodbridge, Major Sawyer.

Field-officers of picket guard, Colonel Parker, Major Moore.

Adjutant of the day out of Colonel Bridge's regiment, ——— Fox.

Guards as usual.

April 29th.

Parole, "HAMPSHIRE."

Officer of the day, Colonel William Henshaw.

Field-officers of main guard, Colonel Peirce, Major Rand.

Field-officers of the picket guard, Colonel Joseph Henshaw, Major Wood.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Dickinson.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That Captain Eleazer Hamden* take into his custody the five prisoners from Scituate, and see that the above report of the Court of Inquiry to examine said prisoners be punctually complied with in every respect.

* Fenno's Orderly Book has "Hamlin," which is the correct spelling.—EDS.

That no person whatever presume to fire a gun without orders.

That all officers are to observe how duty is done, and reprimand those that are negligent, or report them to the proper officers, although they may not belong to the same corps.

That all officers see that the foregoing orders be punctually complied with.

April 30th.

Parole, "CONNECTICUT."

Officer of the day, Colonel Porter.

Officers of the main guard, Colonel Laggatt, Major Tracy.

Officers of the picket guard, Lieut.-Colonel Clark, Major Carter.

Otherwise as usual.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

GENERAL ORDERS. — One captain, two subalterns, four sergeants, four corporals, and fifty rank and file, be paraded to-morrow morning, and be ready to march so as to be at Charlestown Neck by nine o'clock in the morning, to assist in launching several boats, and then to return to camp; said detachment to receive the directions of Mr. Richard Devons.

That no person presume to charge his piece upon surprise, or on the quarter guards, with cartridges, but only powder and a running ball,* so that it may [be] drawn if occasion requires.

If any guards or regiments hear firing of arms near them, they are to send out immediately to know the persons and the cause of it; and, if soldiers without leave, they are to be made prisoners, and a report sent to the commanding officer.

That the commanding officers of the several regiments and detachments do require of their captains or commanders of companies an exact return of the number of men in each company now in camp, and how many of the abovesaid men in each company are enlisted for the campaign, and how many of the enlisted are gone home.

May 1st.

Parole, "CAMDEN."

Officer of the day, Colonel Patterson.

Officers of the main guard, Colonel Williams, Major Wells.

Officers of the picket guard, Colonel Eagar, Major Cordes.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Guager.

Otherwise as usual.

May 2d.

Parole, "ANDOVER."

Officer of the day, Colonel Ward.

Field-officers of main guard, Colonel Powell, Major Maxwell.

Field-officers of picket guard, Colonel Holden, Major Tupper.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Woodbridge.

Otherwise as usual.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book it is called a "rolling ball." — *END.*

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the quartermaster of each regiment see that vaults be immediately dug in some by-place for the use of the regiments; that the parade and camp be cleaned away every day, and all the filth buried.

That the colleges in particular, and the parade around them, be kept clean; and that four privates from each regiment do attend the order and direction of the quartermaster for the abovesaid purpose.

That Major McClary, with the regiment under his command, repair to Medford, and join the forces there, and keep a vigilant guard as far down the river as Winter Hill, till further orders.

That the order of the 30th April be punctually complied with every day; viz., that the commanding officer, &c.

That the Adjutant-General furnish the officers of the picket guard with a list of the names of the picket every day at the time of mounting the picket.

That the commanding officer of the main guard set a sentry over the pump before the guard-house, and take particular care that no person put any thing into said pump.

May 3d.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That four captains, eight subalterns, sixteen sergeants, two hundred privates, be drafted, to go upon fatigue. Colonel Doolittle command the detachment; and that he apply to the Commissary-General for necessary tools, and return the tools at night to the Commissary-General.

The officers will be under Mr. Chadwick, the engineer.

That every regiment and detachment parade at ten o'clock in the morning and at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Parole, "LANGDON."

Officer of the day, Colonel Joseph Henshaw.

Field officers of the main guard, Colonel W^m Henshaw, Major Bigelow.

Field officer of picket guard, Colonel Parker, Major Moor.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise [as] usual.

That Samuel Chandler, captain of the teamsters, be freed from all other duty with the people of the teams whilst they are employed with their teams, by order of the Quartermaster-General.

That eight captains, sixteen subalterns, thirty-two sergeants, four hundred privates, be drafted, to go upon fatigue. Colonel Fry to command the detachment; and that he apply to the Commissary-General for necessary tools, and return them at night to the Commissary-General.

The officer to receive directions of Mr. Chadwick, the engineer.

That Lieutenants Farnum, Johnson, and Walker, adjutants Febiger, Warner, and Fox, escort the corpse of Lieutenant Hull to Charlestown.*

That no field-officer presume to give a pass to any person to go out of camp that came down in defence of his liberties before that person shall have presented to the field-officer a person not belonging to camp,

* Fenno's Orderly Book has, "the corpse of Lieut. Hull of 43d regiment of the Regulars." — Eds.

and out of the same town to which the person that makes application belongs, who is to tarry in camp till the person who has leave returns.

May 4th.

Parole, "CHATHAM."

Officer of the day, Colonel Doolittle.

Field-officers of main guard, Colonel Witney, Major Rand.

Field-officers of the picket guard, Lieut.-Colonel Holden, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That no rum be delivered to any but such as bring orders from the General. Three days' provision be delivered out at a time, and two days at a time, according to the rules of the army.

For fatigue, Colonel Porter.

May 5th.

Parole, "YORK."

Officer of the day, Colonel Peirce.

Field-officers of main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Nixon, Major But-
terick.

Field-officers of the picket guard, Lieut.-Colonel Clark, Major
Fraiser.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Colonel Wyman take particular care of his men, that no outrage be committed on the person or property of any one individual whatever, and use his utmost endeavors to reduce his men to good order, as there have been repeated complaints from the houses of Mr. Temple of very disorderly conduct.

May 6th.

Parole, "PORTSMOUTH."

Officer of the day, Colonel James Prescott.

Main guard field-officers, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett, Major Reed.

Field-officers of the picket, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson, Major Shep-
pard.

For fatigue, Colonel Whiting.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That no person who may have received en-
listing orders, and, in consequence thereof, has enlisted men, presume
to dismiss any person who is enlisted, upon any consideration whatever,
nor presume to re-enlist any person that is already enlisted, without
special orders from the General.

That the commanding officer of the guard at Charlestown permit no
person to go into Charlestown with any provision whatever, with or
without a pass. This order to be given to the next officer who relieves
the guard, and so continue, till further orders.

May 7th.

[Parole, "LIBERTY."]*

That all officers of the guard pay obedience to orders signed by the President of the Congress to the members of the same, which are to be in the following form; viz., To the guards of the Colony Army:—

Pursuant to a resolve of the Provincial Congress, you are hereby ordered to permit ———, a member of this Congress, with his company, to pass and repass with his company at all times.

May 8th, 1775.

Parole, "WORCESTER."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Parker, Major Bigelow.

Field-officers of the picket guard, Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Henshaw, Major Brooks.

Officer for fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Holden.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That no person presume to sell any spirituous liquor in the camp, but such as have been heretofore licensed for that purpose. That all persons immediately break off this iniquitous practice, which has a tendency to destroy the peace and good order of the camp; but, if there be any such persons who will not pay due obedience to this order, their spirituous liquors are to be stoven or seized and given in to the Commissary-General for the use of the army, said Commissary-General to be accountable to the Province therefor.

That Captain Stedman, Mr. Bradish, and others that are licensed to sell spirituous liquors, for the future retail no more to any belonging to the army or camp in Cambridge, except they have a written order from their respective captains, or, in their absence, the next commanding officer therefor, until further orders.

That, in future, provisions be delivered in the following manner:—

Colonel W ^m . Prescott's Regiment	at 5 o'clock.
General Ward's Regiment	$\frac{3}{4}$ after 5 "
Colonel Doolittle's	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 6 "
" Frye's	$\frac{1}{4}$ after 7 "
" Gerrish's	at 8 "
General Whetcomb's	$\frac{3}{4}$ after 8 "
Colonel Peirce's	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 9 "
" Green's	$\frac{1}{4}$ after 10 "
General Pomroy's	at 11 "
Colonel Paterson's	$\frac{3}{4}$ after 11 "
" Woodbridge's	at 3 "
" Gardiner's	$\frac{3}{4}$ after 3 "
" Bridge's	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 4 "

* Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book. — Eds.

May 9th.

Parole, "SHREWSBURY"; countersign, "LIBERTY."*

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Whiting.

Field-officers for picket to-night, Colonel Woodbridge, Major Butterick

Field-officers for main guard to-morrow, Colonel Porter, Major Miller.

Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Doolittle, to-morrow.

Adjutant for the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the Quartermaster-General take from the Commissary-General sixty tents for the use of Colonel Pomroy's regiment, the commanding officer of said regiment to give his receipts to the Commissary-General for said tents. That the said Quartermaster-General furnish them with straw sufficient for encamping.

That the Quartermaster-General take from the Commissary-General twenty-five tents for the use of Colonel Whetcomb's regiment, the commanding officer of said regiment to give his receipt to the Commissary-General for said tents. That said Quartermaster-General furnish them with straw sufficient for encamping.

That William Cutter be empowered to impress such and so many persons as he may judge necessary to assist him in collecting the effects that were taken from the regular troops that were in the late skirmish, and bring them to head-quarters. Such effects to consist only [of such] † as were in the wagons, and with the party that escorted the wagons, together with all the horses and wagons.

That, after the 11th instant, the Commissary-General supply no regiment with their allowance of provisions till the Adjutant, or some other suitable person belonging thereto, has presented him with the number and names of the persons belonging thereto, signed by the commanding officer of each company belonging thereto. Such orderly sergeant to take a list of his own company.

May 10th.

Parole, "LEICESTER"; countersign, "ORDER."

Officer of the day, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett.

Field-officers for the picket guard to-night, Lieut.-Colonel Clark, Major Stacy.

Field-officers for main guard to-morrow, Colonel Paterson, Major Woods.

Field-officer for the fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Powell.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book the countersign is "Freedom." — Eds.

† Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book. — Eds.

May 11th.

Parole, "LANCASTER"; countersign, "PEACE."

Officer of the day, Colonel W^m Prescott.

Field-officers for the picket guard to-night, Colonel Green, Major Baldwin.

Field-officers of main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Henshaw, Major Bigelow.

Field-officer for fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Parker.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Woodbridge.

Otherwise as usual.

May 12th.

Parole, "BOLTON"; countersign, "HARVARD."

Field-officer of the day, Colonel Ward.

Field-officers of the picket guard to-night, Colonel Doolittle, Major Butterick.

Field-officers for main guard to-morrow, Colonel W^m Henshaw, Major Brooks.

Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Gerish.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Montague.

Otherwise as usual.

May 13th.

Parole, "BROOKFIELD"; countersign, "DUDLEY."

Officer of the day, Colonel Patterson.

Field-officers for the picket guard to-night, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett, Major Stacy.

Field-officers for main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Clark, Major Woods.

For fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Holden.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Captain Isaac Foster be permitted to carry provisions into Charlestown for the benefit of such persons only who have moved out of Boston and are going into the country, and our friends in said town.

That no person excepting the said Isaac Foster be permitted to pass the guard with provisions, till further order.

May 14th.

Parole, "HARDWICK"; countersign, "PETERSHAM."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Woodbridge.

Field-officer for the picket guard to night, Lieut.-Colonel Robertson.

Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Major Baldwin.

For fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Holden for to-morrow instead of to-day.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

May 15th.

Parole, "BILLERICA"; countersign, "CHELMSFORD."
 Officer for the day, to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Henshaw.
 Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Major Bigelow.
 Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Colonel W^m Prescott.
 Officer for fatigue to-morrow, Colonel Porter.
 Adjutant of the day, ———.
 Otherwise as usual.

May 16th.

Parole, "NORTHAMPTON"; countersign, "HADLEY."*
 Field-officer for picket guard to-night, Colonel Ward.
 Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Colonel Doolittle.
 Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Peirce for to-morrow.
 Adjutant for the day, ———.
 Otherwise as usual.

May 17th.

Parole, "TICONDEROGA"; countersign, "CROWN POINT."
 Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Parker.
 Field-officer for picket guard to-night, Colonel Clark.
 Field-officer for main guard to-morrow morning, Major Moore.
 Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Patterson.
 Adjutant of the day, ———.
 Otherwise as usual.

May 18th.

Parole, "EASTON"; countersign, "ARNOLD."†
 Officer of the day, Lieut.-Colonel Robertson, for to-morrow.
 Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Colonel Woodbridge.
 Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Holden.
 For fatigue, Major Baldwin.
 Adjutant of the day, ———.
 Otherwise as usual.

May 19th.

Parole, "ETHAN"; countersign ["ALLEN"].‡
 Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel W^m Henshaw.
 Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Colonel Bond.
 Field-officer for main guard to-morrow morning, Colonel Witney.
 Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Scammons.
 Adjutant of the day, ———.
 Otherwise as usual.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book "Hadley" is given as the parole, and "Northampton" as the countersign. — Eds.

† In Fenno's Orderly Book "Arnold" is given as the parole, and "Easton" as the countersign. — Eds.

‡ Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book. — Eds.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Colonel W^m Heushaw be discharged from any further service in camp, and have leave to return home; the Colonel having requested of the General this liberty.

May 20th.

Parole, "ATHOL"; countersign, "WARWICK."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Doolittle.

Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Lieut.-Colonel Bond.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Colonel Nixon.

Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Ward.

Adjutant for the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That no person presume to fire upon the armed schooner* in the river, from Lechmore's Point.

That the sentry placed at the bridge permit no person to pass on to Lechmore's Point, without an express order from head-quarters, till further orders.

May 21st.

Parole, "GROTON"; countersign, "PEPPERELL."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Joseph Henshaw.

Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Major Bigilow.

Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer for fatigue, ———.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

May 22d.

Parole, "SHREWSBURY"; countersign, "WORCESTER."

Officer of the day, Lieut.-Colonel Clark, for to-morrow.

Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Major Bigilow.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Paterson.

Officer for fatigue, Major Moore.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

May 23d.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the officers of the train of artillery may enlist persons from any regiment in camp, in order to complete the train as soon as possible; and the commanding officer of each regiment and company is ordered to permit four men, and no more, from each company to enlist voluntarily into the train, — the commissions, by a resolve of Congress, to be made out to the several captains of companies, notwithstanding the four men enlisted out of their respective companies; but the companies are to be filled up as soon as possible, afterwards.

Parole, "MARLBOROUGH"; countersign, "NORTHBOROUGH."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gardiner.

* Fenno's Orderly Book has "sloop" instead of "schooner." — Eds.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Baldwin.
Officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel
Witney.

Field-officer for fatigue, Major Cady.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Hunt.

May 24th.

Parole, "SUDBURY"; countersign, "FRAMINGHAM."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Wood.

Field-officer for main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel
Holden.

Officer for fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Clark, for to-morrow.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Febiger.

May 25th.

Parole, "MENDON"; countersign, "UPTON."

Officer of the day, Colonel Mansfield.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Sawyer.

Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Field-officer for fatigue, Major Bigelow.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Putnam.

May 26th.

Parole, "CONCORD"; countersign, "STOW."

Officer of the day, Colonel Woodbridge.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Jackson.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Clark.

Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Cady.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Montague.

May 27th.

Parole, "MEDFORD"; countersign, "CHELSEA."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Patterson.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Brooks.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Bond.

Field-officer for the fatigue, Colonel Ward.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Warner.

May 28th.

Parole, "MALDEN"; countersign, "DELIVERANCE."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel W^m Prescott.

Field-officer for the picket to night, Major Stacy.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Hutch-
inson.

Field officer for the fatigue, Major Putnam.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

May 28th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Colonel Doolittle march with four hundred men to Chelsea, and relieve Colonel Nixon and his party, with the other troops that went from this camp; and he is to conduct in such manner as he may judge will most contribute to the general safety. If the cannon which are in the schooner which was taken yesterday can be secured without too much exposing the troops, he may bring them off; or otherways conduct, as his best judgment shall direct.*

May 29th.

Parole, "BOSTON"; countersign, "ROXBURY."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Gardiner.

Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Major Buttrick.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Colonel Robertson.

For fatigue, Major Wood.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hunt.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the party for fatigue be paraded in the morning, so as to attend prayers, and, as soon as prayers are ended, to march directly to the place of fatigue, and work until eleven o'clock; then return, and rest till two o'clock, and work from that time till six o'clock.

May 30th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Major Alden deliver the brass field-piece in his possession to Mr. Dimon Morton, of the train of artillery, for the use of the army.

Parole, "DEDHAM"; countersign, "MEDFIELD."

Officer of the day, Colonel Bridge.

Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Major Jackson.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Reed.

Officer for fatigue to-morrow, Major Sawyer.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

May 31st.

Parole, "SALEM"; countersign, "DANVERS."

Officer for the day, Colonel Scammons.

Field-officer of the picket guard to-night, Major Brooks.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Holden.

Officer for fatigue, Major Baldwin.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Masden.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the stock which was taken from Noddle's Island, belonging to Mr. Henry Howell Williams, be delivered

* Fenno's Orderly Book has, "the remains of the schooner which was burnt on Winnisimitt Ferry." — Eds.

to his father, Colonel Joseph Williams, of Roxbury, for the use of said Henry H. Williams.

June 1st.

Parole, "IPSWICH"; countersign, "NEWBURY."

Officer of the day, Colonel Nixen, for to-morrow.

Field-officer of the picket guard to-night, Major Woods.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Hutchinson.

Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Robertson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Nixon.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer of each regiment, detachment, or company, daily visit his soldiers, whether in barracks or tents, and oblige them to keep themselves clean. The officers who do not strictly adhere to this order are to be reported to head-quarters, and the soldiers that disobey the officers' orders in this respect are to be confined at the main guard until they shall receive some punishment adequate to a crime so heinous. That the officers oblige them to keep the parade clean, and bury the filth.

June 2d.

Parole, "NEWBURY"; countersign, "PORT."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Wood.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Moulton.

Field-officer for fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Parker.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Febiger.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That all such persons who have horses in camp that were taken from Hog Island and Noddle's Island return them immediately to head-quarters, excepting such horses as the owners have had general orders to take.

June 3d.

Parole, "MARBLEHEAD"; countersign, "LYNN."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Mansfield.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Stacy.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Bond.

Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, ———.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer of each regiment, company, or detachment, oblige all that are off of duty, under his command, to be paraded at four o'clock in the afternoon, and be ready to attend the whipping of two persons for stealing, at five o'clock, P.M.

June 4th.

Parole, "BEVERLY"; countersign, "ROWLEY."

Field-officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Woodbridge.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Butterick.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Clark.

For fatigue to-morrow, Mezin Putnam.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Montague.

June 5th.

Parole, "SALISBURY"; countersign, "HAVERHILL."

Officer for the day, Colonel Patterson.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Poor.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Whitney.

Field-officer for fatigue, Major Jackson.

Adjutant for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Patterson.

June 6th.

Parole, "GLOUCESTER"; countersign, "TOPSFIELD."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel W^m Prescott.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Putnam.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Stowers.

Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, Colonel Prescott.

June 7th.

Parole, "SPRINGFIELD"; countersign, "NORTHAMPTON."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Gardiner.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Durkee.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Hutchinsonson.

Field-officer for fatigue for to-morrow, Major Baldwin.

Adjutant of the day for to-morrow, ——— Hunt.

June 8th.

Parole, "SHELBURNE"; countersign, "CONWAY."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Scammons.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Brooks.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Moulton.

Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, Major Stacy.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Masden.

June 9th.

Parole, "SUNDERLAND"; countersign, "MONTAGUE."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Nixen.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Woods.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Bond.

Field-officer for fatigue, Major Wood.

Adjutant of the day for to-morrow, [from] Colonel Nixen's regiment.

June 10th.

Parole, "NORTHFIELD"; countersign, "BRIMFIELD."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Butterick.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Febiger.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer of the picket guard be particularly careful that no damage be done to the meeting-house, as he must be accountable for it himself. This order to be handed to the next officer that relieves, and so on. The meeting-house and parade round it to be kept clean.

June 11th.

Parole, "GLYN"; countersign, "WILKS."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Mansfield.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Putnam.

Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Clark.

Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, Major Poor.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Putnam.

June 12th.

Parole, "YORK"; countersign, "KITTELY."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Woodbridge.

Field officer for the picket to-night, Major Wood.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Parker.

Officer for fatigue to-morrow, ———.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Montague.

June 13th.

Parole, "WOBURN"; countersign, "CONCORD."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel W^m Prescott.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Stacy.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Officer for fatigue to-morrow, ———.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Hardy.

Head-quarters, June 13, 1775.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That a general court-martial be held this day, at nine o'clock, at the school-house, to try such persons as shall be brought before them.

Colonel Fry, *President.*

MEMBERS.

Captains.

Coit.

Bancroft.

Francis.

Newell.

Gleason.

Butler.

Lieutenants.

Foster.

Hide.

Hunting.

Kyes.

Goodnow.

Porter.

Joseph Trumball, Esq., *Judge Advocate.*

All evidences to attend.

June 14th.

Parole, "WELLS"; countersign, "BERWICK."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Gardener.

Field-officer of the picket to-night, Major Jackson.

Field-officer of the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Storrs.

Officer for fatigue to-morrow, ———.

Adjutant for the day, to-morrow, ——— Hunt.

Head-quarters, June 14th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That each colonel of a regiment take and keep a list of his men, their names, when enlisted, place of residence, age, stature, and complexion, and order the roll to be called every morning and evening. All officers see that all tumults and disorders in camp be suppressed, that all soldiers repair to their barracks and tents immediately after beating the tattoo, on penalty of being confined; and that there be no noise in the camp after nine o'clock at night. That the field-officers of the day take special care to suppress all grog-shops; and, if the owners of them continue to sell liquors to the soldiers, he is ordered to stave all their liquors. All officers see that their men attend upon prayers morning and evening, and also the service on Lord's day, with their arms and accoutrements, ready to march in case of an alarm. That no drum beat after the chaplain is on the stage, and the men immediately attend. The commanding officer of each regiment see that the arms and ammunition be viewed daily, and that none be wasted, and that every regiment keep a quarter guard. That the arms and ammunition of the picket guard be examined by the commanding officer of the picket before they go upon duty.

June 15th.

Parole, "TAUNTON"; countersign, "REHOBOTH."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Scammons.

Field-officer of the picket to-night, Major Durkee.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Nixon.

Officer for fatigue to-morrow, ———.

Adjutant for the day, to-morrow, ——— Marsden.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer of the picket guard never leave his post by night nor by day, not more than half an hour at a time, leaving directions with the next commanding officer where to find him. Not more than ten of the picket be allowed to [be] off their post at a time, by night or by day. That the second in command never leave his post when the first is absent. These orders to be delivered to the next commanding officer, and so on from time to time.

That Samuel Murray be removed from the jail in Worcester, to his father's homestead farm in Rutland, the limits of which he is not to pass until further orders; and all persons are hereby strictly forbidden to offer any violence to said Murray while he continues in the peace of God within these limits.

June 16th.

Parole, "LEBANON"; countersign, "COVENTRY."

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Nixon.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Butterick.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Hutchinson.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, ———. *

Head-quarters, Cambridge, June 17th, 1775.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That General Thomas immediately send the following ordnance: viz., one 18 and one 24 pounder, with proper ordnance stores, to the camp at Cambridge, and proper conductors for the same, if they can well be spared from Roxbury camp.

June 17th, 1775.

Parole, "DEERFIELD"; countersign, "CONWAY."

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Colonel Wood.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Baldwin.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, ——— Febiger.†

* Chester's Orderly Book (Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., June, 1875) has Brooks instead of Butterick, and names Holden as "adjutant of the day, to-morrow." Fenno's Orderly Book does not contain the names of the field-officers and adjutant; but it adds: "Frye's, Bridge's, and Wm. Prescott's regiments to parade this evening, at six o'clock, with all the entrenching tools in this encampment." — Eds.

† In Fenno's Orderly Book, which was apparently not written out from day to day, but was prepared at a later date, either from the original orders or from memoranda taken at the time, the following account of the battle of Bunker Hill is inserted, between the 17th and 18th of June: "The three regiments above-mentioned, having received orders about ten o'clock of the evening 16th instant, began to entrench on Breed's Hill, directly opposite Cope's Hill in Boston. By daylight they had thrown up a small fort and part of the lines of circumvallation. About four o'clock in the morning of the 17th, the Lively, which lay in Charlestown Ferry, having put a spring on her cable, began to fire on our people. Some time after they fired also from Cope's Hill, where was a battery of seven or eight battering cannon. As the tide rose, about ten o'clock, three or four floating batteries began to play on the above entrenchment. Between twelve and two o'clock two thousand men landed on a point north-east of the entrenchment, and immediately began to cannonade the same; so that at this period the fire of three ships, three batteries, several field-pieces, the battery on Cope's Hill, from six different directions, all centred on the above incomplete breastwork. No relief or reinforcement having arrived, about nine hundred men of the above three regiments alone maintained the ground till about three o'clock, when, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to retreat. The Provincials lost about one hundred and thirty men in this engagement, and had about three hundred wounded. From a very intelligent regular who was in the above engagement, and who afterwards deserted, I had a list of the killed and wounded of the Regulars, which account General Gage transmitted to England, and was as follows:—

"Account of the killed and wounded of the ministerial army in the engagement at Charlestown, June 17, 1775.

Field-officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Privates.	
4	9	13	15	1	191	killed.
2	25	39	40	12	706	wounded.

"Total, 1057 killed and wounded." — Eds.

Sunday, June 18th.

Parole, "MALDEN"; countersign, "WESTON."

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Mansfield.

Field-officer of the picket to-night, Major Poor.

Field-officer of the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Bond.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, ——— Putnam.

June 19th.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That Captain David Mason * repair to the several entrenchments, to direct, inspect, and oversee the artillery and military stores throughout the lines, and see that they are in proper order.

That an adjutant furnish a subaltern and twenty men without arms to attend the committee of Congress, at the commissary's office, and there assist in loading and unloading provisions, and in other labor.

Parole, "SCARBOROUGH"; countersign, "BRUNSWICK."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Woodbridge.

Officer for the picket to-night, Major Stacy.

Officer of the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, ——— Montague.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That Colonel Ward and Colonel Whitecomb furnish one company between both their regiments to be taken from No. 2, and send them to Mrs. Inman's, to be relieved by said regiments from day to day till further orders; also furnish Captain Homans with a sergeant and fifteen privates every evening.

June 20th.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That Sergeant Green and John Rotch take the command of the guard at the small-pox hospital, near Fresh Pond, and keep a sentry at the gate, who is to permit no person to go in or out, except the doctor, and such as the doctor shall permit to pass; and that a very strict guard be constantly kept at said hospital.

Parole, "HARPSWELL"; countersign, "WINDHAM."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Fry.

Officer of the picket to-night, ———.

Officer of the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Brown.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, ——— Hardy.

June 21st.

Parole, "POMFRET"; countersign, "BRISTOL."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel W^m Prescott.

Officer of the picket to-night, Major Jackson.

Officer for the main guard to-morrow, Colonel Baldwin.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book he is called "Major Mason"; but he did not receive his commission as major until June 21st. See Frothingham's "History of the Siege of Boston," p. 184.—Eds.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer of each regiment, detachment, and company make a complete return of the numbers in their respective regiments, detachments, and companies fit for duty, absent on furlough, deserted, sick, killed, and wounded in the late engagement, and missing upon account thereof.

That each colonel appoint a regimental court-martial to try prisoners belonging to their respective regiments, for errors that are not capital.

That one-half of Colonels Brewer's, Nixon's, Scammons's, Little's, Gerrish's, Gardiner's, Woodbridge's, [and] Mansfield's regiments be drafted every day to relieve the party upon Prospect Hill; the said party be paraded and ready to march by seven o'clock in the morning, till further orders.

June 22d.

Parole, "LANGDON"; countersign, "APPLETON."

Officer for the day for to-morrow, Colonel Scammons.

Officer for the picket to-night, Colonel Glover.

Officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Nixon.

Adjutant for the day, to-morrow, ——— Marsden.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That all such persons as may have in their possession guns, packs, clothing, and any other article whatever that fell into their hands, at and since the time of the engagement upon Bunker's Hill, the owners of which are unknown, immediately return them to head-quarters.

June 23d.

Parole, "LYMAN"; countersign, "HOPKINS."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the picket to-night, [from] Colonel Glover's regiment.

Officer of the main guard to-morrow, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Colonels Brewer, Nixon, Little, Scammon, Gerrish, Gardiner, Woodbridge, [and] Mansfield's regiments encamp on or near Prospect Hill; the officers of said regiments not to desert their posts upon any consideration whatever, and use their utmost endeavors to prevent the soldiers doing the same.

June 24th. Head-quarters, Cambridge.

Parole, "TROWBRIDGE"; countersign, "WALTER."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the picket to-night, Captain ———.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Storrs.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

General orders his thanks to be given to those officers and soldiers who behaved so very gallantly in the late action at Charlestown. Such bravery gives the General sensible pleasure, he being thereby fully satisfied that we shall finally come off victorious, and triumph over the enemies of freedom and America.

Sunday, June 25th.

Parole, "HALLEY"; countersign, "FREEMAN."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Fry.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

June 26th.

Parole, "SWANSEY"; countersign, "DARTMOUTH."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Major Johnnot.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Green.

Head-quarters, June 27th, 1775, Cambridge.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That a general court-martial be held this day at the lines, to try Captain Callender, of the train of artillery. Evidences on both sides be duly ordered to attend said court, which is to sit at eight o'clock, A.M.

Colonel Little, *President.*

Captains.
Crofts.*
Gerrish.
Hill.
Perkins.
Popkins.
Tyler.

Captains.
Baker.
Barnet.
Cogswell.
Williams.
Noble.
Dodge.

Captain Mosely, *Judge Advocate.*

June 27th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer at Prospect Hill keep a main guard, and appoint an officer for the day.

The field-officers are ordered to see that their respective regiments (so many of them as are off of duty) be paraded daily at ten o'clock in the morning, and at four o'clock in the afternoon. The field-officers are enjoined to discipline those that parade two hours in the forenoon and two in the afternoon, and see that a list of their names be called over daily; when paraded in the morning, to prevent their strolling about in the fields and leaving the camp. When paraded in the afternoon, the field-officers are daily to view the arms of their respective regiments, and see what number of rounds each man has, to prevent their waiting, contrary to orders. The commanding officer is to order every night, visiting rounds, and a patrol sentry, whose business it shall be to see that the sentries are all alert upon their posts; and such as are found sleeping or sitting upon their posts are to be confined for trial. The field-officers are not to leave their posts upon any consideration, without leave from the commanding officer.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book the name is "Craft," probably Abner Craft of Colonel Gardner's regiment. (See *ante*, p. 80.) Fenno gives "Prescot" as the parole, and "Dana" as the countersign, for June 27th. — Eds.

June 28th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Lieut.-Colonel Bond occupy one room, in the south-east corner of Colonel Vassall's house, upon the second floor, for the sick belonging to said regiment, * till a convenient place can be procured elsewhere for the above-said purpose.

Parole, "WORCESTER"; countersign, "BROOKFIELD."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett.

Officer for the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Fox.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Edward Previor assist in baking, till further orders.

June 29th.

Parole, "WASHINGTON"; countersign, "VIRGINIA."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gerry.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the regiments in this encampment parade to-morrow morning at five o'clock, on the common, where the prisoners will be brought from the main guard, and the sentence of the general court-martial will be put in execution against them.

The officers commanding companies will take care that the men in their respective companies turn out immediately when called upon for duty.

The adjutants will take care to bring the men upon the place of parade for guards and other duty, precisely by the time prefixed by the Adjutant-General.

June 30th. Head-quarters.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That all profane cursing and swearing, all indecent language and behavior, will not be tolerated in camps. The General expects that all the officers, from the highest to the lowest rank, set a good example to the soldiers in this respect.

That three subalterns be appointed daily to visit the colleges at nine o'clock in the morning, and see that they are daily swept clean; and that the officers improving dwelling-houses take care that those soldiers who are quartered in the same see that they are daily swept.

That the field-officers at Cambridge, Charlestown, and Medford see that the adjutants make a list of the names of all the officers of rank and file belonging to their respective regiments, and make a return immediately to the Adjutant-General.

That all possible care be taken that no lewd women come into the camp; and all persons are ordered to give information of such persons, if any there be, that proper measures be taken to bring them to condign punishment, and rid the camp of all such nuisances.

That the rules and regulations for the American army be read at

* Fenno's Orderly Book has, "belonging to Colonel Gardner's regiment."
—Eds.

the head of the respective companies by the captains, or such other person as they shall appoint, once a week, till further orders. *

June 30th.

Parole, "PENNSYLVANIA"; countersign, "JAMAICA."
 Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.
 Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.
 Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

July 1st.

Parole, "BOWDOIN"; countersign, "DEXTER."
 Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.
 Officer of the main guard, Major Johannot.
 Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, July 1st.

That the adjutants of the respective regiments doing duty at Cambridge, Charlestown, and Medford make a weekly return to the Adjutant-General at head-quarters of the number of officers, and rank and file fit for duty, number unfit, where stationed, what number on duty daily, what duty, whether in camp, out on furlough, or absent without leave.

That the drummers in this encampment attend upon Mr. John Bassett, drum-major, at seven o'clock to-morrow morning, and receive their orders from him respecting their duty.

July 2d.

Parole, "PITTS"; countersign, "BRADBURY."
 Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Brickett.
 Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.
 Adjutant for the day, ——— Hardy.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That some suitable person in each company in the several regiments be directed to inspect said company daily; that, upon finding any complaints of indisposition among the men, the surgeon of each regiment will examine thereinto, and, if there be any symptoms of the small-pox upon them, that they be immediately removed.

That one soldier be taken out of each company in Putnam's, Prescott's, Bridge's, Fry's, and Glover's regiments, for camp color-men, whose daily business shall be to sweep and keep clean the camp.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 3d.

Parole, "LOOK OUT"; countersign, "SHARP."
 Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.
 Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.
 Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book the army is called "the Massachusetts army," and it is stated that the rules and regulations are to be read "at least once a fortnight." — Eds.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 3d, 1775.

By his Excellency George Washington, Esq., Commander-in-chief of the Forces of the United Colonies of North America, —

The colonel or commanding officer of each regiment is ordered forthwith to make two returns of the number of men in their respective regiments, distinguishing those who are sick, wounded, or absent on furlough, and also the quantity of ammunition each regiment now has.

AFTER ORDERS. — Four o'clock, P.M. By his Excellency General Washington, —

It is ordered, that Colonel Glover's regiment be ready this evening, with all their accoutrements, to march at a minute's warning to support General Folsom of the New Hampshire forces, in case his line should be attacked.

It is also ordered, that Colonel Prescott's regiment equip themselves, march this evening, and take possession of the woods leading to Lechmore's Point, and in case of an attack, then Colonel Glover's regiment to march immediately to their support.

Head-quarters, July 4th.

Parole, "ABINGTON"; countersign, "BEDFORD."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

July 4th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — 1. Exact returns to be made by the proper officers of all the provisions, ordnance, ordnance stores, powder, lead, working-tools of all kinds, tents, camp-kettles, and all other stores under their respective care, belonging to the armies at Cambridge and Roxbury. The commanding officer of each regiment to make a return of the number of blankets wanted to complete every man with one, at least.

2. The Hon. Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, Esqs., are appointed majors-general in the American army, by the honorable Continental Congress, and due obedience is to be paid them as such. The Continental Congress not having completed the appointments of the other officers in said army, nor had sufficient time to prepare and forward their commissions, every officer is to continue to do duty in the rank and station he at present holds, until further orders.

3. Thomas Mifflin, Esq., is appointed by the General one of his aides-de-camp; Joseph Reed, Esq., is in like manner appointed secretary to the General; and they are in future to be considered and regarded as such.

4. The Continental Congress having now taken all the troops of the several colonies, which have been raised or which may be hereafter raised, for the support and defence of the liberties of America, into their pay and service, they are now the troops of the United Provinces

of North America, and it is hoped that all distinction of colonies will be laid aside, so that one and the same spirit may animate the whole, and the only contest be, who shall render on this great and trying occasion the most essential service to the great and common cause in which we are all engaged.

5. It is required and expected that exact discipline be observed and due subordination prevail through the whole army, as a failure in these essential points must necessarily produce extreme hazard, disorder, and confusion, and end in shameful disappointment and disgrace.

6. The General most earnestly requires and expects a due observance of those articles of war established for the government of the army which forbid profane cursing and swearing, and drunkenness; and in like manner requires and expects of all officers and soldiers not engaged in actual duty a punctual attendance on divine service, to implore the blessing of Heaven upon the means used for our safety and defence.

7. All officers are expected and required to pay diligent attention to keep their men neat and clean; to visit them often at their quarters, and inculcate upon them the necessity of it, as essential to their health and service; they are particularly to see they have straw to lie on, if to be had, and to make it known if they are destitute of this article. They are also to take care that necessaries are provided in the camps, and frequently filled up, to prevent being offensive and unhealthy. Proper notice will be taken of such officers and men as shall distinguish themselves by a due attention to these necessary duties.

8. The commanding officer of each regiment is to take particular care that not more than two men of a company be absent on furlough at the same time, unless in very extraordinary cases.

9. Colonel Gardiner* is to be buried at three o'clock, P.M., with the military honors due to so brave and gallant an officer, who fought, bled, and died in the cause of his country and mankind. His own regiment, except the company at Malden, to attend on this mournful occasion. The places of those companies on the lines on Prospect Hill to be supplied by Colonel Glover's regiment till the funeral is over.

10. No person whatever is allowed to go to Fresh Water Pond a-fishing, or on any other occasion, as there may be danger of introducing the small-pox into the army.

11. It is strictly required and commanded that there be no firing of cannon or small arms from any of the lines, or elsewhere, except in case of necessary immediate defence, or special order given for that purpose.

12. All persons taken, deserters coming in, persons coming out of Boston, who can give any intelligence, any captures of any kind from the enemy, are to be immediately reported, and brought up to headquarters at Cambridge.

* Colonel Thomas Gardner, of Cambridge, was wounded in the battle of Bunker Hill, and died on the 3d of July. See Frothingham's "History of the Siege of Boston," pp. 151, 179, 180. — Eds.

13. Captain Griffin is appointed aide-de-camp to General Lee, and to be regarded as such.

14. The guard for the security of the stores at Watertown to be increased to thirty men immediately.

15. A sergeant and six men are to be set as a guard to the hospital, and are to apply to Dr. Rand.

16. Complaint being made against John White, quartermaster of Colonel Nixon's regiment, for misdemeanors in drawing provisions for more men than the regiment consisted of, and for abusive behavior, a court-martial, consisting of a captain and four subalterns, is ordered to be held on said White, at nine o'clock to-morrow morning, who are to make due inquiry, determine, and report.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 5th, 1775.

By his Excellency General Washington.

Parole, "BEDFORD"; countersign, "CAMBRIDGE."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

GENERAL ORDERS. — 1. The adjutant of each regiment is required to take special care that all general orders are communicated as well to the private men as to the officers, that there may be no plea of ignorance. They will be deemed answerable for all consequences which may follow from a neglect of this order.

2. A general court-martial is ordered to sit to-morrow, at ten o'clock, A.M., for the trial of William Patten, charged with leaving his post while on guard; David Wells and Gideon Cole, for sleeping on their posts as sentinels; John Scott, for insulting the sentry, and attempting to pass the guard at Boston; and James Foster, for theft; when the witnesses are to attend, and the parties charged are to have notice this day that they may be prepared for their trials.

3. The General most earnestly recommends and requires of all the officers, that they be exceeding diligent and strict in preventing all invasion and abuse of private property in their quarters or elsewhere. He hopes, and indeed flatters himself, that every private soldier will abhor and detest such practices, when he considers that it is for his own rights, liberty, and property, and those of his fellow-countrymen, that he is now called into service; that it is unmanly, and sullies the dignity of the great cause in which we are all engaged, to violate that property he is called to protect; and especially that it is most cruel and inconsistent thus to add to the distresses of those of their countrymen who are suffering under the iron hand of oppression.

4. The General again urges a speedy and exact return of the forces, stores, provisions, &c., as desired in the order already issued; and for the future, these returns to be made once a week, on Saturday morning regularly. The General is much pleased with the expedition and care which some officers have already shown in their obedience to this order.

5. The colonel or commanding officer of each regiment is to direct

an officer of each company to call over the rolls of their men at six o'clock every morning, and to make proper inquiry after the absentees.

N. B. — W^m Patten and David Wells belong to Captain Gridley's company, and Colonel Gridley's regiment.

Gideon Cole belongs to Captain Chester's company, in General Putnam's regiment.

John Scott belongs to Captain Aloney's company, Colonel ——'s regiment.*

James Foster belongs to Captain Butler's company, Colonel Nixon's regiment.

Thursday, July 6th, 1775. Head-quarters, Cambridge.

Parole, "CUMBERLAND"; countersign, "DARBY."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bricket.

Officer for the main guard, Major Johonnot.

Adjutant of the day, —— Gibbs.

GENERAL ORDERS. — 1. A general court-martial is ordered to sit to-morrow, at ten o'clock, A.M., for the trial of John Seymore, John Batchelor, and W^m Croston,† all of Colonel Gridley's regiment, charged with desertion and theft; at the same time, they are to hear and determine the case of Thomas Dunley, a stroller, accused of theft. Notice to be given to the prisoners to-day.

2. Captain Leonard, of Colonel Woodbridge's regiment, and the remainder of his company, are ordered to join the guard at Watertown.

3. The clothing provided by the Massachusetts committee of supplies, for those men of their government who lost their clothes at the late action at Bunker's Hill, to be distributed to the most needy and necessitous men of each regiment, and an account to be kept thereof by the commanding officer of each regiment.

Cambridge, Head-quarters, July 7th, 1775.

GENERAL ORDERS. — By his Excellency General Washington.

Parole, "DORCHESTER"; countersign, "EXETER."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, —— Fox.

1. It is with inexpressible concern that the General, upon his first arrival in the army, should find an officer sentenced by a general court-martial to be cashiered for cowardice, — a crime of all others the most infamous in a soldier, the most injurious to an army, and the last to be forgiven, inasmuch as it may, and often does, happen that the cowardice of a single officer may prove the destruction of the whole army. The General therefore, though with great concern (and more especially as the transaction happened before he had the command of the troops), thinks himself obliged, for the good of the service, to approve

* In Fenno's Orderly Book the name of the captain is given as "Money." Both Henshaw and Fenno leave a blank for the name of the colonel. — Eds.

† In Fenno's Orderly Book the name is "Curston." — Eds.

the judgment of the court-martial with respect to Captain John Callender, who is hereby sentenced to be cashiered. Captain John Callender is accordingly cashiered, and dismissed from all further service in the Continental Army, as an officer.

The General, having made all due inquiries, and maturely considered this matter, is led to the above determination, not only from the particular guilt of Captain Callender, but the fatal consequences of such a conduct to the army, and to the cause of America. He now therefore most earnestly exhorts officers of all ranks to show an example of bravery and courage to their men, assuring them that such as do their duty in the day of battle as brave and good officers shall be honored with every mark of distinction and regard, their names and merits made known to the General Congress, and all America; while, on the other hand, he most positively declares that every officer, be his rank what it may, who shall betray his country, dishonor the army and his General, by basely keeping back and shrinking from duty in any engagement, shall be held up as an infamous coward, and punished as such with the utmost martial severity; and no connections, interest, or intercessions in his behalf will avail to prevent the strict execution of justice.

2. Captain Scott's and Captain Styles's companies from New Hampshire are to be incorporated or added to Colonel Sergeant's regiment, agreeable to the application made for that purpose.

3. No officer or soldier posted in the lines, or for the defence of them, on Prospect Hill, or Winter Hill, or elsewhere, are upon any account to sleep out of their encampment, or leave it at nights. The troops raised in New Hampshire are particularly required to attend to this order, from their particular circumstances of situation.

4. No soldier belonging to those posts, or elsewhere, to be suffered to straggle at a distance from their respective parade, on any pretence, without leave from his officers, as an unguarded hour may prove fatal to the whole army, and to the noble cause in which we are engaged; the importance of which to every man of common understanding must inspire every good officer and soldier with the noblest ardor and strictest attention, lest he should prove the fatal instrument of our ruin.

5. The Adjutant-General is required to make a strict return, as quick as possible, of the troops in Cambridge, their numbers, and the duty they do.

6. Complaints having been made with respect to the bread, as being sour and unwholesome, the Quartermaster-General is hereby directed to inquire into the matter, and report upon it; at the same time, to inform the bakers that if any more complaints are made, and they shall be found just, they will be most severely punished.

7. The guards on the roads leading to Bunker's Hill are ordered not to suffer any person to pass them, unless an officer is sent down from the lines to order it, or they will be severely punished.

8. The General has great reason, and is highly displeased with the negligence and inattention of those officers who have placed as sentries at the outposts men with whose character they are not acquainted.

He therefore orders, that for the future no man shall be appointed to those important stations who is not a native of this country, or has a wife and family in it to whom he is known to be attached. This order is to be considered as a standing one, and the officers are to pay obedience to it, at their peril.

9. A complaint of the most extraordinary kind having been made to the General, that soldiers enlisted in one regiment have been seduced to re-enlist into others, by agents enlisted for that purpose, under the specious promise of money, or leave of absence from the army, — a procedure so subversive of all order and discipline, and of the very existence of the army, cannot be forgiven. The strictest orders are therefore given against such practices, and the General most earnestly declares, that if any agent or soldier shall hereafter be found so offending, he will punish them with the utmost severity.

10. A general court-martial having sat upon W^m Patten, and reported that no evidence appeared against him to support the charge, the General defers decision upon the report until further consideration. In the mean time, the Adjutant-General is ordered to wait on Colonel Ward, by whom the prisoner was confined, and learn from him upon whose complaint, and what witnesses there are to support it.

11. A regimental court-martial is ordered to sit to-morrow, ten o'clock, on Samuel Bartlett, of the company late Captain Callender's, and Colonel Gridley's regiment, confined for abusive behavior.

12. A general court-martial to sit to-morrow, ten o'clock, A.M., for the trial of Thomas Domily, charged with stealing. Each of the above prisoners to have notice to-day; and the witnesses in like manner ordered to attend.

13. In order that all the sick and wounded in the army may be provided for and taken care of in the best way and manner possible, it is ordered, that when any officer or soldier is so ill, either by a wound or otherwise, that the surgeon of the regiment to which he belongs finds he cannot be properly taken care of in such regiment, such surgeon shall send him to the camp hospital to which they belong, with a certificate, the man's name, the company and regiment to which he belongs, &c.; and, in that case, the surgeon of the hospital shall receive the said sick and wounded. And in case such hospital shall be too full, in that case the surgeon of said hospital shall send such of his patients as may be removed with safety to the hospital at Watertown, with the like certificate as above; on which the surgeon of Watertown hospital is to receive and take care of him.

Head-quarters, July 8th, 1775.

By his Excellency General Washington.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Parole, "ESSEX"; countersign, "FALKLAND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

Ordered, 1. That the main guard on no account whatever be with-

out a drum, which is to beat to arms on any alarm, and followed by all the drums in the camp, on which every officer and soldier is to repair to the alarm post.

2. The commanding officer of each regiment or corps in Cambridge, as soon as the men are paraded after an alarm, to send an officer to head-quarters for orders.

3. The commanding officers at Roxbury, Prospect Hill, Winter Hill, and Sewall's Point to send expresses, in case of an alarm, to head-quarters, with an account of the situation and movements of the enemy. If they are not each provided with a horse for that purpose, the Adjutant-General to apply to the Committee of Supplies.

4. Colonel Gridley of the artillery, or the next in command, to give in a return of his men, stores, and ammunition, agreeable to the order of the 4th instant, and to distinguish the posts to which his regiment is assigned in case of alarm. The direction is given as to the return of men, ammunition, &c., to the commanding officer of the regiments late Colonel Gardiner's, of Colonel Glover's, and Colonel Gerrish's, who have omitted complying with the above order hitherto.

5. The commanding officers at Winter Hill, Prospect Hill, and Roxbury are to make particular inquiry into the ammunition of the men in those lines, and, if there is any deficiency, immediately to report it to the General at head-quarters.

6. A general court-martial is ordered to sit on Monday next, ten o'clock, for the trial of Lieutenant Brigham, charged with rescuing a person from lawful custody. The prisoner to have notice to-day.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 9th, 1775.

Parole, "EFFINGHAM"; countersign, "WATERTOWN."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bricket.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

The Continental Congress having been pleased to appoint Horatio Gates, Esq., brigadier-general and adjutant-general of the army, he is to be obeyed as such; and all orders transmitted through him from the Commander-in-chief, whether written or verbal, are to be punctually and immediately obeyed.

All soldiers more than two a company, who are at present absent upon furlough, and all officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who have not joined their respective corps, to be ordered forthwith to camp; the commanding officers of corps to be answerable to the General, to an immediate obedience to these orders.

The General (or, in his absence, the commanding officer at Roxbury) to send a report every day in writing, sealed up, to the Commander-in-chief, at head-quarters, in Cambridge, of all the material occurrences of the preceding day, mentioning particularly all arrivals of ships and vessels in the bay, and what changes and alterations are made in the stations of the men-of-war, transports, and floating batteries, &c.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 10th, 1775.

Parole, "FREDERICK"; countersign, "GLOUCESTER."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

The general court-martial of which Colonel William Prescott was president having tried William Pattin, of Colonel Gridley's regiment, having found him guilty of threatening and abusing a number of persons when prisoner in the quarter guard, the court sentence the prisoner to ride the wooden horse fifteen minutes. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be put in execution at the head of the regiment.

David Wells, soldier in Colonel Gridley's regiment, tried by the above-mentioned general court-martial for sleeping upon his post when sentry, is acquitted by the court.

No non-commissioned officers, soldiers, but such as are guilty of capital offences, to be confined in the main guard. All those guilty of crimes triable by a regimental court-martial to be sent to the quarter guards of their respective corps, to be tried by a regimental court-martial.

The general court-martial whereof Colonel W^m Prescott is president to sit again this day, at the usual hour; all evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

Whenever a general court-martial is ordered, it is expected that the evidences and persons by whom the prisoners are confined do punctually attend to support the accusation, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

The colonels of the Massachusetts regiments to order one subaltern from each company in their respective corps forthwith upon the recruiting service. Proper instructions will be given by the Adjutant-General to the officers ordered upon that service; they will therefore call at head-quarters as soon as possible to receive their instructions. The General recommends it to the colonels of regiments to send active and vigilant officers upon this service, and those who are most in esteem with the people in the district they are sent to recruit in.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 11th, 1775.

Parole, "GUILFORD"; countersign, "HARTFORD."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

GENERAL ORDERS. — 1. The general court-martial of which Colonel W^m Prescott was president is dissolved. A general court-martial is to be assembled as soon as possible, to try such persons as shall be brought before them; all evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

2. The General understanding there is a bad custom prevailing of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers absenting themselves from

guard, under a pretence of going for provisions, it is therefore ordered, that all officers and soldiers bring their provisions to the guard they mount, and on no pretence quit their guard till it is regularly dismissed.

3. Notwithstanding the order of the Provincial Congress, some persons are so daring as to supply the soldiers with immoderate quantities of rum, and other spirituous liquors. [If] any sutler, tavern-keeper, or licensed innholder, shall presume, after the date of this order, to sell to any non-commissioned officer or soldier any spirituous liquors whatsoever, without an order from the captain of the company to which such non-commissioned officer or soldier belongs, he or they so offending may expect to be severely punished.

Lieut.-Colonel Ward to be president of the general court-martial.

July 12th.

Parole, "FALMOUTH"; countersign, "WORCESTER."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

GENERAL ORDERS. — The Adjutant-General will deliver at orderly time a certain number of printed returns to the adjutant of each regiment, so that for the future no excuse can be admitted for not making exact and regular returns when demanded. As it is only filling up the blanks with the proper numbers to be placed in them, the Commander-in-chief will not for the future admit of any palliation for making a false return, and is resolved to bring any officer, of what rank so ever, to a court-martial, who is found delinquent.

When any trumpeter or flag of truce is sent from Boston, or any post occupied by the enemy, they are to be stopped by the first sentry they are permitted to approach, who is to call for the sergeant of the guard, who will conduct them to the officer of his guard; and such trumpeter or flag of truce is not to be allowed to pass one step beyond that guard. The officer commanding that guard will send any letters or messages brought from the enemy immediately to the Commander-in-chief, and [to] no other person.

A general court-martial of line to sit at head-quarters at Cambridge to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, to try Colonel Scammons, of the Massachusetts forces, accused of backwardness in the execution of his duty in the late action upon Bunker's Hill; the adjutant of Colonel Scammons's regiment to warn all evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

Colonel Nixon, president of above court.

July 13th.

Parole, "GEORGIA"; countersign, "HUNTINGTON."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bricket.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant, ——— Tyler.

GENERAL ORDERS.—As the army will forthwith be formed into brigades, the Adjutant-General will, at orderly time, this day deliver to the adjutant of each regiment a number of printed returns, one of which must be immediately filled up and signed by the commanding officer of each regiment, and sent as soon as possible to the Adjutant-General, by the adjutant of each regiment. On the back of the return it will be necessary to mention where and in what manner the regiment is at present posted.

The commanding officer at Chelsea is, as soon as possible after the receipt of this order, to direct all the cattle at Pulling Point, Shirley Point, and the intermediate place between Powderhorn Hill and the sea, to be driven off.

And it is recommended to the Commissary-General to endeavor to agree with the owners of said cattle to purchase them for the use of the army.

Head-quarters, July 14th, 1775.

Parole, "HALIFAX"; countersign, "INVERNESS."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

As the health of an army principally depends upon cleanliness, it is recommended in the strongest manner to the commanding officer of corps, posts, and detachments, to be strictly diligent in ordering the necessaries to be filled up once a week, and new ones dug; the streets of the lines and encampments to be swept daily, and all offal and carrion near the camp to be immediately buried. The officers commanding in barracks or quarters to be answerable that they are swept every morning, and all filth and dirt to be removed from about the houses.

Next to cleanliness, nothing is more conducive to a soldier's health than dressing his provision in a decent and proper manner; the officers commanding companies should therefore daily inspect the camp kitchens, and see that the men dress their provisions in a wholesome way.

The commanding officer of those parts of the lines and of redoubts where pikes are placed will order the quartermaster of corps to see the pikes greased twice a week. They are to be answerable that the pikes are kept clean, and always fit and ready for service.

The General, observing great remissness and neglect in the several guards in and about the camp, orders the officer commanding any guard to turn out his guard immediately upon the near approach of the Commander-in-chief, or of any of the general officers: and, upon passing the guard, the Commander-in-chief is to be received with rested arms, the officers to salute, and the drums to beat a march; the Major-General, with rested arms, the officer to salute, and the drums to beat two ruffles; the Brigadier-Generals, with rested arms, the officer to salute, and the drums to beat one ruffle.

There being something awkward as well as improper in the general

officers being stopped at the outposts, asked for guard (who it sometimes happens is as much unacquainted with the person of the generals, as the private men), before they can pass either in or out, it is recommended to both officers and men to make themselves acquainted with the persons of all the officers in general command; and in the meanwhile, to prevent mistakes, the general officers and their aides-de-camp will be distinguished in the following manner: viz., the Commander-in-chief, by a blue ribbon worn across his breast, between his coat and waistcoat; the Major and Brigadiers-General, by a pink ribbon worn in like manner; the aide-de-camp, by a green ribbon.

The court-martial of which Colonel Ward was president is dissolved.

Daniel Carmicle, soldier in Colonel Paterson's regiment, tried for disobedience to orders, for re-enlisting and taking advance money twice, and for drunkenness, is found guilty of the several charges, and ordered to be whipped on the bare back, with thirty-nine lashes, and discharged from the army. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed to-morrow morning, at the head of the regiment he belongs to.

July 15th.

Parole, "VIRGINIA"; countersign, "MARYLAND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

ORDERS. — 1. The commanding officer of each regiment to report the names of such men in their respective corps as are most expert in the management of whale-boats.

2. When any commissioned or non-commissioned officer is sent upon any detachment, duty of honor, fatigue, or to see the execution of any particular work, he is, so soon as the work is performed, to make report thereof to the commanding officer.

3. It being found advantageous to the public service to remove sundry horn cattle and sheep from the grounds near which they were grazing, near Chelsea (to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands), it is earnestly recommended to the several commissioners to purchase such of them as are fit for slaughter, of the owners, in order that they may suffer the least loss possible, from the unavoidable necessity of removing them from [the] rapacious jaws of our enemies.

4. Colonel Gridley, chief engineer, is desired to report what *chevaux-de-frise* are made, and [in] what forwardness those are that are now making. It is necessary those upon hand be completed without delay.

5. Notwithstanding the orders already given, the General hears with astonishment that not only soldiers, but officers unauthorized, are continually conversing with the officers and soldiers of the enemy. Any officer, non-commissioned officer, soldier, or any person whatsoever, who is detected holding any conversation, or carrying on any correspondence, with any officers or sentries of the advanced posts

of the enemy, will be immediately brought before a general court-martial, and punished with the utmost severity. The General *alone* is to judge of any propriety of any intercourse with the enemy, and no one else is to presume to interfere.

6. The chief engineer, Colonel Gridley, to order an engineer and a field-officer of artillery to go round the lines and redoubts, to examine if the guns are placed properly in the embrasures, and if the embrasures were properly made, and properly sloped toward the country. The engineer and artillery officers to report to the Commander-in-chief, as soon as they have obeyed this order.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 16th, 1775.

Parole, "CAROLINA"; countersign, "SPRINGFIELD."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Johannot.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Tyler.

GENERAL ORDERS. — The Continental Congress having earnestly recommended that Thursday next, the 20th instant, be observed by the inhabitants of all the English colonies upon the continent as a day of public fasting, humiliation, and prayer, that they may with united hearts and voices unfeignedly confess their sins before God, and supplicate the all-wise and merciful Disposer of Events to avoid the devastations and calamities of an unnatural war, the General orders that day to be religiously observed by the forces under his command, in manner exactly directed by the proclamation of the Continental Congress. It is therefore strictly enjoined on all officers and soldiers not upon duty to attend divine service at their accustomed places of worship, as well in the lines as in the encampments and quarters; and it is expected that all those who do go to worship, do take their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, and are prepared for immediate action, if called upon. If, in the judgment of the officers, the works should be in such forwardness as the utmost security of the camp requires, they will command their men to abstain from labor on that solemn day.

It was with much surprise and concern that the General, in passing along the New Hampshire lines yesterday, observed a most wanton, mischievous, and unprofitable abuse of property, in the destruction of many valuable trees which were standing on the side of the road, out of the way of our works or guns; he therefore orders that an effectual stop be put to such practices for the future. A severe punishment will fall upon the transgressors of this order.

William Palfrey, Esq., is appointed aide-de-camp to Major General Lee. All orders, whether written or verbal, coming from General Lee, and delivered by Captain Palfrey, are to be punctually obeyed.

A particular return to be delivered to the Adjutant-General to-morrow, at orderly time, of the regiment of artillery, distinguishing how every man and officer in the corps is at present employed, and where posted.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 17th, 1775.

Parole, "BOSTON"; countersign, "SALEM."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Brickett.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

GENERAL ORDERS. — There is reason to apprehend that the general orders are not published to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the army. As pleading ignorance of orders will not for the future be admitted in excuse for any delinquency, it is once more ordered that the adjutants of the several corps will be exact in seeing the orders read every evening to the men off duty of their respective corps, as they may depend upon answering before a court-martial for any neglect in obeying this order.

The general court-martial whereof Colonel John Nixon is president, to sit again to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, to try such prisoners as shall be brought before them. All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

There being a great neglect in sending in the returns to the Adjutant-General, as directed by the general orders of Friday last (especially from the regiment * posted in Roxbury), the General assures commanders of corps from whom returns are expected that he will not for the future pass over the slightest neglect in sending returns to the head-quarters at the time directed by the general orders. If there is any remissness in the adjutants, the colonels will not do their duty, if they do not confine the transgressors forthwith.

AFTER ORDERS. — Captain Benjamin Perkins, of Colonel Little's regiment, confined by Colonel Doolittle for assisting and abetting soldiers to mutiny in rescuing a prisoner from the quarter guard of Colonel Doolittle's regiment, is to be tried to-morrow morning by the general court-martial whereof Colonel Nixon is president. All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

Camp before Boston, July 18th, 1775.

Parole, "WILMINGTON"; countersign, "CHESTER."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

GENERAL ORDERS. — As the *chevaux-de-frise* are not in readiness, the officers commanding the different lines and redoubts are, as speedily as possible, to provide a sufficient number of gabions, which are to lay empty at the entrances of the respective posts, in order to be filled up as occasions may require. General Putnam will forthwith order his post to be furnished with a large quantity of fascines.

The officers commanding the different posts to send an exact return to head-quarters this afternoon of all the intrenching tools in their

* Fenno's Orderly Book reads "regiments." The copy in 4 Force's "American Archives," II., 1708, has "the regiments posted in and near Roxbury." — Eds.

possession, — spades, pickaxes, wheel-barrows, axes, and crow-bars; and to mention the number and quantity of any of those implements that are still wanting to carry on their respective works.

Five captains, twelve subalterns, twelve sergeants, and three hundred rank and file to parade to-morrow morning immediately after divine service, from the regiments now stationed in Cambridge, as a working party to assist in raising the New Hampshire lines.

Colonel James Scammons, of the Massachusetts Bay forces, tried by the general court-martial of which Colonel John Nixon was president, for disobedience to orders and backwardness in the execution of duty, the court, after duly examining the evidence for and against the prisoner, together with what the prisoner had to say in his own defence, are of opinion that Colonel Scammons is not guilty of the crimes whereof he was accused, and therefore do acquit the prisoner.

Colonel Scammons to be immediately released from his arrest.

If, after what has happened, the enemy in revenge for their late losses should dare to attempt forcing our lines, the army may be assured that nothing but their own indolence and remissness can give the least hope of success to so rash an enterprise; it is therefore strongly recommended to the commanding officers of corps, guards, and detachments, that they be assiduously alert in parading their men at their several posts half an hour before daybreak, and remain there till the commanding officer thinks proper to dismiss them.

The General hears with astonishment the very frequent applications that are made to him, as well by officers as by soldiers, for furloughs. Brave men, who are engaged in the noble cause of liberty, should never think of removing from their camp while the enemy is in sight, and anxious to take every advantage any indiscretion on our side may give them. The General doubts not but that the commanding officers of corps will anticipate his wishes, and discourage those under them from disgracefully desiring to go home, until the campaign is ended.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 19th, 1775.

Parole, "DERBY"; countersign, "MARBLEHEAD."

Officer for the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 20th, 1775.

Parole, "ALBANY"; countersign, "TICONDEROGA."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Brickett.

Officer of the main guard, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Tyler.

Certain drums in and near Cambridge very improperly beat the *reveille* this morning before day; although the troops are ordered to be under arms half an hour before daylight, it does not follow that the drums are to beat at that time. The *reveille* is to beat when a sentry can see clearly one thousand yards around him, and not before.

All aides-de-camp and majors of brigades are to keep regularly

entered in a book all the general orders of the army, as well as those of the brigade they belong to, as the General-in-chief will not for the future admit as an excuse for the breach of orders the plea of not knowing them.

Samuel Osgood, Esq., and Joseph Ward, Esq., being appointed aides-de-camp to Major-General Ward, they are to be obeyed as such. As all orders coming from aides-de-camp are to be considered as the orders of their respective generals, and, whether written or verbal, to be forthwith obeyed, it may be necessary once more to repeat to the army, that every aide-de-camp and major of brigade will be distinguished by a green ribbon.

Certain corps having been dilatory in delivering last Saturday their weekly returns, as positively directed by former orders, the General is determined for the future not to excuse any neglect in sending the returns every Saturday to the Adjutant-General. As the commanding officers of regiments are to be answerable for the due observance of this order, it is expected they are exact in obliging their respective adjutants to fulfil their duty.

Head-quarters, July 21st, 1775.

Parole, "MALDEN"; countersign, "CHELSEA."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Johannot.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 22d, 1775.

Parole, "NANTASKET"; countersign, "MISSISSIPPI."

A court of inquiry to sit forthwith (president, Dr. Foster; Dr. Warren and Dr. Eustace, members), to examine into a complaint exhibited by Mr. John Spaulding, surgeon to General Putnam's regiment, against Mr. Penuel Chiney, surgeon's mate of said regiment; all evidences to attend the court.

Captain Israel Putnam and Lieutenant Sam'l Webb, being appointed aides-de-camp to Major-General Putnam, they are to be obeyed as such.

Regularity and due subordination being so essentially necessary to the good order and government of an army, and without it the whole must soon become a scene of disorder and confusion, the General finds it indispensably necessary, without waiting any longer for despatches from the General Continental Congress, immediately to form the army into three grand divisions, and of dividing each of those three grand divisions into two brigades. He therefore orders that the following regiments, viz.: —

General Ward's, General Thomas's, Colonel Fellows's, Colonel Cotton's, Colonel Danielson's, Colonel David Brewer's, compose one brigade, and be under the command of Brigadier-General Thomas. That General Spencer's, Colonel Parsons's, Colonel Larnard's, Colonel Walker's, Colonel J. Read's, Independents, compose another brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Spencer. That these two

brigades compose the right wing, or division, in the army, and be under the command of Major-General Ward, and remain at Roxbury and its southern dependencies.

That Colonel Stark's, Colonel Poor's, Colonel Bond's (New Hampshire), Colonel Nixon's, Colonel Mansfield's, Colonel Doolittle's (Massachusetts), be formed into another brigade, under the command of Brigadier-General Sullivan, and posted on Winter Hill. That Colonel Varnum's, Colonel Hitchcock's, Colonel Church's (Rhode Island), Colonel Whitcomb's, Colonel Gardner's, Colonel J. Brewer's (Massachusetts), be formed into another brigade, and commanded by Brigadier-General Green, and posted upon Prospect Hill. And these two brigades compose the left wing, or second division, of the army, under the command of Major-General Lee.

That General Heath's, Colonel Patterson's, Colonel Scammons's, Colonel Gerrish's, Colonel Phinney's, Colonel Prescott's, be formed into another brigade, and commanded by Brigadier-General Heath, and be posted between Cambridge River and Prospect Hill. That General Putnam's, Colonel Glover's, Colonel Frye's, Colonel Bridge's, Colonel Woodbridge's, Colonel Sargeant's, be formed into another brigade, under the command of the senior officer therein, and until the pleasure of the Continental Congress be known. These two brigades to be under the command of Major-General Putnam, as also a *corps-de-réserve* for the defence of the several posts north of Roxbury, not already named. The arrangement now ordered to take place, and is to be made as speedily as possible; and the major-generals are to see it done accordingly. Some inconveniences may arise to certain individuals by this change; but as the good of the service requires it to be made, an alert and ready compliance is expected. All applications from henceforward, by officers or soldiers, for leave of absence, are to be made to the major-general commanding each division, who is to judge of the propriety of the application, and grant furloughs where they see cause, without applying to the Commander-in-chief; provided it be not contrary to general orders.

General Heath's regiment is to take post at No. 2, in lieu of General Ward's; Colonel Patterson's, remain at No. 3; [Colonel Scammons's]* to occupy No. 1 and the redoubt between that and No. 2; Colonel Gerrish's† regiment to take post at the redoubt upon Sewall's Point; Colonel Gerrish's regiment to furnish the companies for Chelsea, Malden, and Medford.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 23d, 1775.

Parole, "BRUNSWICK"; countersign, "PRINCETOWN."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

* Supplied from the copy of this day's orders in 4 Force's "American Archives," II. 1738. The copy in Fenno's Orderly Book is incomplete. — Eds.

† The copy in Force, *ut supra*, reads "Prescott's" instead of "Gerrish's." — Eds.

As the Continental army has unfortunately no uniform, and consequently many inconveniences must arise from not being able always to distinguish commissioned officers from the non-commissioned, and the non-commissioned from the privates, it is desired that some badges of distinction may be immediately provided: for instance, the field-officers may have red or pink colored cockades in their hats; the captains, yellow or buff; and the subalterns, green. They are to furnish themselves accordingly. The sergeants may be distinguished by an epaulet, or stripe of red cloth sewed upon the right shoulder; the corporals, by one of green.

The people employed to make spears are desired by the General to make four dozen of them immediately, thirteen feet in length, and the wood part a good deal more substantial than those already made, particularly in the New Hampshire lines. [They] are ridiculously short and slight, and can answer no sort of purpose; no more are, therefore, to be made on the same model.

The commanding officers of the different works and posts are once more enjoined to furnish themselves with a sufficient number of gabions and fascines, which are to stop up the entrance of their respective redoubts and lines, and to repair their works which may be either damaged by the weather or by the fire of the enemy. It is observed that several of the entrances of the redoubts are still left open, without any sort of defence; the commanding officers of each redoubt are therefore ordered to cut a wide, deep ditch at the entrances, and throw a bridge of strong plank across. This to be done without delay.

John Davis, in Captain Foster's company, in Colonel Gridley's regiment of artillery, tried for desertion, and suspicion of intending to go to the enemy, is acquitted by the general court-martial. Ensign Trofton, accused by Colonel Scammons of abusive and insulting language to the said Colonel Scammons while under arrest, tried by a general court-martial, of which Colonel Nixon was president; the court were unanimously of opinion that the prisoner is not guilty, and do therefore acquit him, with honor. Lieutenant Trofton to be forthwith released from his arrest.

Michael Bury, Captain Parker's company, and Colonel Prescott's regiment, tried by the same general court-martial for refusing his duty, and enlisting in another company; the court condemns the prisoner, and orders him to receive thirty-nine lashes. The General orders the sentence to be put in execution at the head of the regiment the delinquent belongs to.

Colonel Little's regiment, omitted in yesterday's orders, is in General Green's brigade, and to be posted on Prospect Hill.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 24th, 1775.

Parole, "SALISBURY"; countersign, "CUMBERLAND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Tyler.

It being thought proper to distinguish the majors from the brigadiers-

general by some particular mark, for the future the major-general will wear a broad purple ribbon.

Notwithstanding the general orders making the distinction of general officers, aides-de-camp, &c., the generals are frequently stopped by the sentinels, which can only happen from the captains having neglected to read the orders to their respective companies. If any general officer, aide-de-camp, or major of brigade, is again stopped through the ignorance of the sentinels, the captains will be considered as responsible.

As any attempt the enemy from their late disappointments may have the rashness or the hardiness to make will be violent and sudden, the General expects the officers and soldiers will be not only resolute, but alert to defeat; and, in a particular manner, he enforces his orders to every field-officer, upon no account (duty excepted) to lay out of camp, but upon every occasion to show by their example that activity and steady courage so necessary to defeat an enterprising enemy.

Notwithstanding the orders of the 11th instant, expressly forbidding all officers and soldiers from quitting their guard before they are relieved and dismissed, the General is informed such unsoldierly practices are still committed; he therefore admonishes all officers and non-commissioned officers not to suffer any person to quit their guard upon any pretence; care to be taken the men are properly supplied with provisions before they mount guard.

Report being made this morning to the General that the main guard-room is kept abominably filthy and dirty; for the future no commanding officer is to relieve another upon that guard until he is assured the officers' and men's apartments are clean and in decent order.

The surgeon of every regiment in the lines, redoubts, or in and near Cambridge, to deliver to-morrow, at twelve at noon, to the Adjutant-General at head-quarters, an exact return of the sick in the regiments they respectively belong to. The names, rank, and disorder of each officer, non-commissioned officer, and soldier, to be mentioned in the return.

The returns of the surgeon of the corps stationed in and near Roxbury to be made to the commanding general at Roxbury Tuesday noon, in the manner and form directed by the above order, and the general commanding at Roxbury will transmit them to head-quarters at orderly time Wednesday.

Cambridge, July 25th, 1775.

Parole, "HALIFAX"; countersign, "YORK."

Continual complaints being made that soldiers of regiments and companies, after enlisting in one company and regiment, have gone and enlisted in another; insomuch [that] it would engross the General's whole time to hear the disputes upon this subject, for the future, any officers who have any dispute in regard to the men recruited are to

apply to the brigadier commanding their brigade, who will order a court-martial of the brigade to hear and determine the matter.

The general court-martial of which Colonel Nixon was president to be dissolved this evening, and another general court-martial of the line to sit to-morrow morning at the usual time and place, to try such prisoners as shall be brought before them. All evidences and persons concerned to attend.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 26th, 1775.

Parole, "AMSTERDAM"; countersign, "AMBOY."

It is recommended to the commanding officers of corps that all coverings made of boards [be] built in the form of barracks, and in the most advantageous manner, at the same time so contrived as to be warm and comfortable in cold weather.

All passes to be discontinued for the future, and no person to be admitted into the lines, unless introduced by an officer who can vouch for him, or by order of the officer commanding in the lines.

It being represented that the present hospital is not large enough to contain the sick, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver's house is to be cleared for that purpose, and care to be taken that no injury is done to it.

Notwithstanding the strict and repeated orders that have been given against firing of small arms, it is hourly practised. All officers commanding guards, posts, and detachments to be alert in apprehending all future transgressors.

Captain Clark, of General Putnam's regiment, confined in arrest for a neglect of duty when upon guard, tried by a late general court-martial, is acquitted, and immediately to be released from his arrest.

Levi Wood, soldier in Captain Nutting's company, in Colonel Prescott's regiment, confined for absenting himself without leave, and refusing to take the oath, and threatening to leave the army, the court-martial, upon the prisoner's pleading guilty, and promising to behave obediently for the future, recommended him to the General's mercy, who is pleased to pardon the prisoner.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 27th, 1775.

Parole, "BEDFORD"; countersign, "GUILFORD."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, ———.

Officer of the main guard, ———.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

John Trumbull, Esq., being appointed aide-de-camp to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, he is to be obeyed as such.

A court of inquiry to sit to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock, in the tutor's chamber (Mr. Hall's), to examine into a complaint, exhibited upon oath, in the public newspapers, against Mr. Benjamin Whiting, a prisoner in the college. All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

For the future, when any deserters come to the opt-guards, they are without the least delay to be sent by a corporal's guard to the next

guard in the lines, who is immediately to escort them in the same manner to the major-general commanding that division of the army, who, as soon as he has examined them, will forthwith send them under a proper escort from his guard to the head-quarters. Some of the deserters being made drunk who came last night from the enemy, before they reached head-quarters, it will be considered as a breach of orders in any person who gives rum to deserters, before they are examined by the General.

A subaltern officer's guard to be mounted to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, at a certain distance from the small-pox hospital; the officer to come this evening at six o'clock to the Adjutant-General for orders.

Head-quarters, July 28th, 1775.

Parole, "CUMBERLAND"; countersign, "BROOKLINE."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, _____.

Officer of the main guard, _____.

Adjutant of the day, _____.

The surgeons of Learnard's, Heath's, Little's, Phinney's, and Parson's regiments having neglected to deliver in the returns of the sick of their respective regiments to the Adjutant-General, those returns to be delivered forthwith, and the surgeons of those corps are to be exact in obedience to orders.

Head-quarters, July 29th, 1775.

Parole, "DARTMOUTH"; countersign, "CORK."

A sergeant and six men to parade at the head-quarters, at eleven o'clock, to escort certain prisoners and deserters to Worcester; this party to be victualled for this day and to-morrow. The sergeant will receive his orders from the Adjutant-General.

Mr. Benjamin Whiting, tried by a court of inquiry, ordered in the general orders of the 27th instant, whereof Lieut.-Colonel Brickett was president. The court having maturely considered the evidence for and against the prisoner, as well as what the prisoner had to offer in his defence, are of opinion that the prisoner is not guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and do therefore acquit the prisoner. The General therefore orders the prisoner to be released.

James McDaniel, tried by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Glover is president, for forging an order of General Putnam's to obtain a quart of rum, and for abusive language to Colonel Gridley, is found guilty, and ordered to receive twenty lashes. The General confirms the sentence, and orders it to be executed after prayer-time to-morrow.

James Foster, of Captain Butler's company, in Colonel Nixon's regiment, tried by the same general court-martial for robbing Dr. Foster, surgeon of the general hospital, being found guilty of the charge, is sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes, and to suffer one month's fatigue. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to

be put in execution at the head of the regiment, after prayer-time to-morrow morning.

W^m Winslow, of Captain Perkins's company of artillery, tried by the same court-martial for stealing a common cartridge of powder, is acquitted.

Head-quarters, July 30th, 1775.

Parole, "ESSEX"; countersign, "DUBLIN."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

William Tudor, Esq., being appointed judge-advocate of the Continental Army, he is in all things relative to his office to be acknowledged and obeyed as such.

The drummers and fifers of the regiments in and about Cambridge are to be ordered constantly to attend the drum-and-fife major, at the usual hours, for instruction.

Head-quarters, July 31st, 1775.

Parole, "FALKLAND"; countersign, "ELDETON."*

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Johannot.

Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

The Continental Congress having been pleased to appoint Joseph Trumbull, Esq., to be commissary-general to the army of the United Colonies, all commissaries heretofore appointed by any of the distinct Colonies' Congresses, or by particular authority of any particular districts or colony, are forthwith to make an exact return of the provisions, and all the different species of provisions, they have in or near the camps at Cambridge and Roxbury. Thereupon Commissary-General Trumbull, being assured by the report of his clerk, assistant, or from his own examination, that such return is just and true, is to give his receipt for the quantity delivered into his hands; which receipt will be a good voucher in the passing the account of the different colony commissaries heretofore appointed, and will be allowed as such.

The commissaries at present appointed by the several colonies are forthwith to make up their accounts unto the third day of August, inclusive, ready to be laid before the Commander-in-chief, and by him transmitted to the Continental Congress, or to be adjusted, and finally settled by him, as the Continental Congress shall think proper to direct.

A return, signed by the commanding officers of regiments and corps, to be delivered to the Adjutant-General to-morrow morning, at general orderly-time, of the names, ranks, and dates of the officers' commissions

* Fenno's Orderly Book reads "Edentown." In the copy in 4 Force's "American Archives," III. 34, it is "Edenton," which is the modern spelling of the name. — Eds.

in their respective regiments and corps, mentioning also the vacancies, and how occasioned.

A general court-martial to sit immediately, to try Captain Gardner, of Colonel Vernon's regiment, for cowardice, abandoning his post, and deserting his men.* All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

Head-quarters, August 1st, 1775.

Parole, "GIBRALTER"; countersign, "FAIRFIELD."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Johannot.

Officer of the main guard, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

The General thanks Major Tupper and the officers and soldiers under his command for their gallant and soldierlike behavior in possessing themselves of the enemy's post at the light-house, and for the number of prisoners they took there, and doubts not but the Continental Army will be as famous for their mercy as their valor.

Two subalterns, two sergeants, one drum, and thirty rank and file, to parade at head-quarters, at noon, to escort the prisoners to Worcester. The commanding officer will receive his orders from the Adjutant-General. For the satisfaction of all concerned, the General directs the following resolution of the legislature of this colony to be inserted in general orders, viz.:—

In House of Representatives,
WATERTOWN, July 29, 1775.

Whereas, sundry complaints have been made by some of the soldiers raised by this colony, that they have not received the allowance pay of forty shillings, agreeable to the resolution of Provincial Congress; therefore,

Resolved, That a committee be appointed forthwith to apply to the colonels of the several regiments raised by this colony, and to the muster-masters and pay-masters in the camps at Cambridge and Roxbury, and obtain of them a complete list of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers in their respective regiments, distinguishing those that have been mustered and paid from those that have not, that such methods may be pursued as shall remove all just ground of complaint.

Read, and ordered, that Colonel Cushing and Mr. Webster, with such as the honorable board shall join, be a committee for the purposes above mentioned.

Sent up for concurrence.

JA^s WARREN, *Speaker*.

In council, read and concurred, and Colonel Lincoln is joined.

Attest:

P. MORTON, *Secretary*.

The officers commanding Massachusetts regiments will pay all due attention to the foregoing resolution.

* Fenno's Orderly Book has "Colonel Hitchcock's regiment." The copy in 4 Force's "American Archives," III. 34, has "Colonel Varnum's regiment," which is correct. See also the general orders for August 2d, on the next page. — Eds.

One man in a company to be appointed a camp color-man, from every company in every regiment in the army, whose particular duty it must be to attend the quartermaster and quartermaster-sergeant; to sweep the street of their respective encampments; to fill up the old necessary houses, and dig new ones; to bury all offals, filth, and nastiness that may poison or infect the health of the troops; and the quartermasters are to be answerable to their commanding officers for a strict observance of this order, and, by persevering in the constant and unremitted execution thereof, remove that odious reputation which (with but too much reason) has stigmatized the character of American troops. The colonels and commanding officers of regiments are to be answerable to the General for all due obedience to this order.

The General finding it not uncustomary for officers to take the liberty of absenting themselves from camp without leave, and going home, for the future any officer found guilty of so glaring an offence against all order and discipline, and setting so bad an example to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers under his command, such officer or officers so offending may depend upon being punished with the utmost severity.

Lest the late successes against the enemy should occasion any relaxation in the alertness of the troops, the General recommends it in the strongest manner to all the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army to be more vigilant in their duty, and watchful of the enemy, as they will certainly take every advantage of any supineness on our part.

Head-quarters, August 2d, 1775.

Parole, "HALIFAX"; countersign, "GENEVA."

Captain Oliver Parker, of Colonel Prescott's regiment, tried by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Glover was president, for defrauding his men of their advance pay, and by false returns imposing upon the commissary, and drawing more rations than he had men in his company, and for selling the provisions he by that means obtained, is by the court found guilty of the whole charge against him, and sentenced to be cashiered, mulcted of all his pay, and rendered incapable of future service.

Captain Christopher Gardiner, of Colonel Varnum's regiment, in the Rhode Island brigade, tried by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Thomas Church was president, for deserting his post, is found guilty of the crime, and unanimously sentenced to be cashiered, as incapable of serving his country in any military capacity.

The General approves both the above sentences, and orders the commanding officers of the regiments to see the prisoners dismissed the army.

Head-quarters, August 3d, 1775.

Parole, "IRELAND"; countersign, "HARTFORD."

When any plunder is taken from the enemy (not excepted by the Continental articles of war), such plunder must be all surrendered to the commanding officer; and, as soon as convenient after his arrival at head-quarters, public notice must be made that an auction will be held

in the front of the encampment for the sale thereof the next day at noon; and the money arising therefrom is to be equally divided between the officers and men that took it. This order is not to be construed to extend to permitting unlawful and irregular plundering, as any officer or soldier who shall be found guilty thereof will be punished with the greatest severity.

All the armorers belonging to any of the regiments in the three brigades posted in the lines, or in Cambridge, and those employed in the artillery, to be at head-quarters by eight o'clock to-morrow morning; and none will be entitled to any pay hereafter who does not attend at that time.

Head-quarters, August 4th, 1775.

Parole, "LONDON"; countersign, "ICELAND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bricket.

Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

It is with indignation and shame the General observes that notwithstanding the repeated orders which have been given to prevent the firing of guns in and about the camp, that it is daily and hourly practised. That, contrary to all order, straggling soldiers do still pass the guards, and fire at a distance, where there is not the least probability of hurting the enemy, and where no other end is answered but to waste their ammunition, expose themselves to the ridicule of the enemy, and keep their own camps harassed by frequent and continual alarms, to the hurt and detriment of every good soldier, who is thereby disturbed of his natural rest, and at length will never be able to distinguish between a real and false alarm.

For these reasons, it is in the most peremptory manner forbid any person or persons whatsoever, under any pretence, to pass the out-guards, unless authorized by the commanding officer of that part of the lines, signified in writing, which must be shown to the officers of the guard as they pass.

Any person offending in this particular will be considered in no other light than as a common enemy, and the guards will have orders to fire upon them as such. The commanding officer of every regiment is to direct that every man in his regiment is made acquainted with these orders, to the end that no one may plead ignorance, and that all may be apprised of the consequences of disobedience. The colonels of regiments and commanding officers of corps to order the rolls of every company to be called twice a day, and every man's ammunition examined at evening roll-calling, and such as are found to be deficient to be confined.

The guards are to apprehend all persons firing guns near their posts, whether towns-people or soldiers.

Head-quarters, August 5th, 1775.

Parole, "WESTMINSTER"; countersign, "RICHMOND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Johnnot.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

For the establishment of order and to prevent disputes between officers, as well as for fixing a regular and proper distribution of the commissions of the Continental Army, part of which are already arrived from the Congress, and the rest hourly expected, it is ordered, that a meeting of the field-officers of each brigade be held to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, as near as may be to the centre of the encampment of each brigade, who are to choose, by ballot, one out of their body to represent them in forming a court for the adjustment and final settlement of —

First, The rank of the regiments of the Continental Army, and numbering of each regiment accordingly, as all differences and distinctions are to be now laid aside. The regiments of the several provinces that form the Continental Army are to be considered no longer in a separate and distinct point of view, but as part of the whole army of the United Provinces.

Secondly, The rank of the field-officers of all the regiments forming the Continental Army.

Thirdly, The rank of all the captains, subalterns, and staff-officers. And as doubts may arise which cannot be determined by the six field-officers so chosen by ballot, they are hereby directed to choose by ballot one brigadier-general, who will preside as moderator of the court for finally settling the rank of all the corps and all the commissioned officers that compose the army of the United Colonies.

This court, being duly constituted and appointed, are to sit on Monday morning next, at Deacon Jones's, in Cambridge.

The church to be cleaned out forthwith, as the Rev. Mr. Doyle will perform divine service therein to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

Head-quarters, August 6th, 1775.

Parole, "MANCHESTER"; countersign, "LANCASTER."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the main guard, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Sartell.

Head-quarters, August 7th, 1775.

Parole, "NEWCASTLE"; countersign, "MALDEN."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

Captain Kilton, of Colonel Patterson's regiment, tried by a general court-martial for neglect of duty, is found guilty of a breach of the forty-ninth article of the rules and regulations for the Massachusetts army; they therefore sentence him to receive a severe reprimand from the commanding officer, at the head of the regiment.

Application having been made for sutlers to supply the different regiments with necessaries, the Commander-in-chief has no objection

to each colonel appointing one for his particular regiment, provided the public is not to be taxed with any expense by the appointment; and provided, also, that each colonel doth become answerable for the conduct of the sutler so appointed, and taking care that he conform strictly to all orders given for the regulation of the army, and that he does not in any instance attempt to impose upon the soldiers in the prices of their goods. No officer, directly or indirectly, is to become a sutler. It is in an especial manner recommended to the commanding officer of each regiment to see that a store of shoes and shirts are laid in for their men, as these are at all times necessary. The General recommends it to the colonels to provide Indian boots or leggings for their men, instead of stockings, as they are not only warmer, but wear longer, but, by getting them of a color, contribute to uniformity in dress, especially as the General is in hopes of prevailing with the Continental Congress to give each man a hunting-shirt.

For the future, no return is to be delivered to the Adjutant-General that is not signed by the commanding officer of the regiment or corps specified by the return; and it is expected that the commanding officers of regiments do not receive any returns from their adjutants, unless he at the same time presents the said commanding officer with a particular return, signed by the respective captains of companies in the regiment he commands.

Head-quarters, August 8th, 1775.

Parole, "PORTSMOUTH"; countersign, "NORTHUMBERLAND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Brickett.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Tyler.

As the numbers of absent sick, by the last returns, are astonishingly great, it is ordered that the name of each man (absent under that pretence) be given in by the commanding officer of each regiment, and signed by him, setting forth the town which each particular soldier is gone to, that the committee thereof may be applied to, to inspect into the nature of their complaints, and make report of those who are fit for duty. It has been intimated to the General that some officers, under pretence of giving furloughs to men recovering from sickness, send them to work upon their farms, for their own private emolument, at the same time that the public is taxed with their pay, if not with their provisions. These insinuations being but obliquely made, the General is unwilling to believe that any officer can be so lost to all sense of honor as to defraud the public in so scandalous a manner, and therefore does not at present pay any further regard to the insinuation than to declare that he will show no favor to any officer who shall be found guilty of such iniquitous practices, but will do his utmost endeavors to bring them to exemplary punishment, and the disgrace due to such malconduct.

The following is the ration of provision allowed by the Continental Congress unto each soldier, viz.: one pound of fresh beef, or three-quarters of a pound of pork, or one pound of salt fish per diem; one

pound of bread or flour per diem; three pints of pease or beans per week, or vegetables equivalent at five shillings sterling per bushel for pease or beans; one pint of milk per diem per man, when to be had; one half pint of rice, or one pint of Indian meal, per man per week; one quart of spruce beer per man per diem, or nine gallons of molasses per company of one hundred men; three pounds of candles to one hundred men per week, for guards, &c.; twenty-four pounds of soft, or eight pounds of hard soap, for one hundred men per week; one ration of salt [meat*], one ration of fresh [meat*], and two rations of bread, to be delivered Monday morning; Wednesday morning the same; Friday morning the same, and one ration of salt fish. All weekly allowances delivered Wednesday morning. When the number of regiments are too many to serve the whole the same day, then the number is to be divided equally, and one part served Monday morning, the other part Tuesday morning, and so through the week.

Head-quarters, August 9th, 1775.

Parole, "ROCHESTER"; countersign, "PLYMOUTH."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Robinson.

Officer of main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant, ——— Gibbs.

The commanding officer of each regiment or corps is to send a return at orderly-time to-morrow to the Adjutant-General, of the number of tents or boards which are wanted to cover the men, that they may be provided as soon as possible. They are also to give in the names of such of their men who have never received blankets, or who lost them in the engagement on Bunker's Hill.

As there are several vacancies in the different regiments, if there are any particular gentlemen who signalized themselves in the action on Bunker's Hill, by their spirited behavior and good conduct, and of which sufficient proof is adduced to the General, he will, in filling up the commissions, use his endeavors to have them appointed (if not already commissioned) to some office, or promoted, if they are; as it will give him infinite pleasure at all times to reward merit, wherever it is found.

Colonel Learned's regiment to join General Thomas's brigade, and Colonel Huntington's to join General Spencer's brigade.

Captain Ballard, of Colonel Frye's regiment, tried by the late general court-martial for profane swearing, and for beating and abusing his men. The court find the prisoner guilty in two instances of profane swearing, and of beating one of his men, and therefore sentence him to pay a fine of four shillings for each offence.

Captain Jessee Saunders, of Colonel Sargeant's regiment, tried by the late general court-martial for frequently drawing more provision than he had men in his company to consume, for forcing the sentries, and taking away a gun, the property of William Turner, and threatening the life of Sergeant Connor, cocking and presenting his gun at

* Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book. — Eds.

him when in the execution of his duty. The court are of opinion that the prisoner is guilty of the whole of the charge exhibited against him, and unanimously adjudge that he be forthwith cashiered. The General approves the above sentence, and orders it to be put in immediate execution.

To-morrow the rules and articles formed by the Honorable Continental Congress for the government of the twelve United Colonies will be delivered out, to be distributed through the several corps of the army. They are to be signed by the several officers of each regiment, beginning with the colonels, and then by the soldiers, in the blank leaves left for that purpose; and, after they are so subscribed, they are to be deposited with the captain of each company. If there are any officers or soldiers who refuse to sign them, their names, the companies and regiments to which they respectively belong, are to be reported to the Commander-in-chief without delay.

Mr. John Goddard is appointed by the Commander-in-chief wagon-master-general to the army of the twelve United Colonies, and is to be obeyed as such.

Head-quarters, August 10th, 1775.

Parole, "SCHOOLKILL"; countersign, "RICHMOND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Johannot.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

It is a matter of exceeding great concern to the General to find, that, at a time when the united efforts of America are exerting in defence of the common rights and liberties of mankind, that there should be in an army constituted for so noble a purpose such repeated instances of officers, who, lost to every sense of honor and virtue, are seeking, by dirty and base means, the promotion of their own dishonest gain, to the eternal disgrace of themselves, and dishonor of their country. Practices of this sort will never be overlooked, whenever an accusation is lodged; but the authors brought to the most exemplary punishment. It is therefore much to be wished that the example of Jesse Saunders, late captain in Colonel Sargeant's regiment, will prove the last shameful instance of such a grovelling disposition; and that for the future, every officer, for his own honor and the sake of [an] injured public, will make a point of detecting every iniquitous practice of this kind, using their utmost endeavors in their several capacities to lessen the expense of the war as much as possible, that the general cause in which we are struggling may receive no injury from the enormity of the expense.

The several paymasters are immediately to ascertain what pay was due to the different regiments and corps on the first day of this instant, that each man may receive his respective due, as soon as the money arrives to pay them.

It is earnestly recommended that great exactness be used in these settlements: first, that no man goes without his pay; and, next, that not one farthing more be drawn than what is justly due. After this, the pay may be drawn once a month, or otherwise, as shall be found

most convenient. In the mean while, the soldiers need be under no apprehension of [not] getting every farthing that is justly their due: it is therefore expected that they do their duty with that cheerfulness and alacrity becoming men who are contending for their liberty, property, and every thing that is valuable to freemen and their posterity.

Head-quarters, August 11th, 1775.

Parole, "TUNBRIDGE"; countersign, "SQUANTUM."

Complaint having been made by the inhabitants east of Watertown that their gardens are robbed, their fields laid waste, and fences destroyed; any persons who shall for the future be detected in such flagitious, wicked practices, will be punished without mercy.

The Commander-in-chief has been pleased to appoint Stephen Moylan, Esq., to be muster-master-general to the army of the United Colonies. He is, in all things touching his duty as muster-master-general, to be considered and obeyed as such.

Head-quarters, August 12th, 1775.

Parole, "ULSTER"; countersign, "TORRINGTON."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Brickett.

Officer of the main guard, Major Austin.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

Head-quarters, August 13th, 1775.

Parole, "WILLIAMSBURG"; countersign, "TORRINGTON."*

A general court-martial to sit to-morrow morning to try Colonel John Mansfield, of the Massachusetts forces, accused by three of his officers of high crimes and misdemeanors. One brigadier-general and twelve field-officers to compose the court.

President, Brigadier-General Green.

MEMBERS.

Colonel James Reed.

Colonel Vernum.

Lieut.-Colonel Wyman.

Lieut.-Colonel Holden.

Major Cudworth.

Major Butterick.

Colonel Patterson.

Colonel Woodbridge.

Lieut.-Colonel Marsh.

Lieut.-Colonel Miller.

Major Sawyer.

Major Angell.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, August 14th, 1775.

Parole, "YORK"; countersign, "YARMOUTH."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Johonnot.

Officer of main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant, ——— Gibbs.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book, the countersign for August 13th is "Canada," which is probably the correct reading. In the copy of the orders in 4 Force's "American Archives," III. 250, there is no entry under date of August 12th; and the parole and countersign for August 13th are given as in Colonel Henshaw's copy. — Eds.

Major Thomas Mifflin is appointed quartermaster-general to the army of the United Colonies : he is to be obeyed as such.

As the troops are all to be mustered as soon as possible, the muster-master-general, Stephen Moylan, Esq., will deliver to the commanding officer of each regiment thirty blank muster-rolls upon Friday next, and directions for each captain how he is to fill up the blanks.

Head-quarters, August 15th, 1775.

Parole, "ARLINGTON" ; countersign, "BEDFORD."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Captain ———.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

David Henley, Esq., is appointed brigade-major to General Heath's brigade.

John Trumbull, Esq., is appointed brigade-major to General Spencer's brigade.

Richard Cary, Esq., is appointed brigade-major to the brigade commanded by the eldest colonel.

Daniel Box and James Scammell, Esqs.,* are appointed to continue to do the duty of brigade-majors to the brigades to which they respectively belong.

Edmund Randolph and George Bayler, Esqs., are appointed aides-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief.

All and every of the above-named gentlemen to be obeyed in their respective capacities.

The Quartermaster-General is, without delay, to examine the encampments and coverings of the different regiments and corps, to see that those which are not designed to remain in houses are provided as soon as possible with tents or boards sufficient for their accommodation ; at the same time, he is to take care to prevent any unnecessary waste of the latter, and to put a stop to the officers building such large houses as some of them are doing, unless they are intended for the accommodation of a number sufficient to fill them, or are built at their own expense ; but no large houses to be placed near any of the redoubts or lines.

In addition to the order of the 4th instant, the colonel or commanding officer of each regiment and corps is to cause an exact account to be taken (by his captains) of the number of cartridges which each man is possessed of, and at evening roll-calling have them examined, as directed in the said order, when, if any are wanting and cannot be accounted for, the delinquent, over and above the punishment due to

* The copy in 4 Force's "American Archives," III. 250, names also Thomas Chase, who is mentioned in both Henshaw and Force's copies of the orders of August 17th in similar terms. Chase is not named in Fenno's Orderly Book under either date ; but under August 17th Fenno's copy reads, "Samuel Brewer, Esq., is to continue to do the duty of brigade-major to General Thomas's brigade." A similar entry appears in Henshaw's copy under date of August 30th. Fenno's Orderly Book was no doubt transcribed at a later date, after the original mistake had been rectified. — Eds.

his offence, is to be charged with the deficiency, and so much of his pay stopped accordingly.

Head-quarters, August 16th, 1775.

Parole, "CUMBERLAND"; countersign, "DUNSTABLE."

Captain Eleazer Lindsey, of Colonel Gerrish's regiment, tried by a general court-martial for absenting himself from his post, which was attacked and abandoned to the enemy; the court, on consideration, are of opinion that Captain Lindsey be discharged the service, as a person improper to sustain a commission.

John Parke, Esq., is appointed an assistant to the Quartermaster-General: he is to be obeyed as such.

Head-quarters, August 17th, 1775.

Parole, "EXETER"; countersign, "FALKLAND."

Thomas Chase, Esq., is to continue to do duty as a major of brigade, to Brigadier-General Thomas's brigade.

Mr. Ezekiel Cheever is appointed commissary of artillery stores. The Quartermaster-General, Commissary-General, and Commissary of Artillery are to make exact returns of all the stores, provisions, and necessities of every kind within their several departments; and they are to lose no time in collecting the several articles which may be in the hands of committees or other persons into their immediate care, and they are to be answerable for the disposal of them.

The commanding officer of artillery is to see that all the ordnance stores are faithfully collected, and put under the care of the commissary of the artillery; and the commissary of artillery is to see that all the powder, lead, and flints are placed in the magazines appointed to receive them.

The muster-master-general, Stephen Moylan, Esq., to proceed as expeditiously as possible in mustering the troops; and, when he has delivered his blank rolls to the several regiments and corps, he is to fix the days for mustering each brigade, with the Adjutant-General, who will give directions accordingly.

The army being regularly brigaded, and a major of brigade appointed and fixed to each brigade, they are to keep an exact roster of duty for the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of their respective brigades. The Adjutant-General will assist them with the best form of a roster, and earnestly recommend the use thereof. All duties of honor begin with the eldest officer of each rank, and duties of fatigue with the youngest. Each major of brigade will forthwith fix upon a proper spot, as near as can be to the centre of the brigade, for a general parade of the brigade, where all parties with or without arms are to be regularly paraded and march off in presence of the major of brigade; and the General expects that the majors of brigade are not only alert, but exact, in the performance of this duty.

The court-martial ordered for the trial of Colonel Mansfield to sit to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, at the college chapel, for the trial

of Colonel Gerrish. All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

Head-quarters, August 18th, 1775.

Parole, "GLOUCESTER"; countersign, "HARTFORD."

John Connor, of Captain Oliver's company, Colonel Doolittle's regiment, tried at a general court-martial for stealing a cheese, the property of Richard Comel,* is found guilty of the charge, and adjudged to receive thirty-nine lashes upon his bare back. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed at the relieving the main guard, at the head of the two guards.

Joseph Matthews, of Captain Perkins's company of artillery, tried by the same general court-martial for selling his gun, which the selectmen of his town had given him, and drawing pay for a blanket, furnished by said selectmen. The court sentence the prisoner to receive ten lashes upon his bare back, and order twelve shillings to be stopped from his wages, to repay Captain Perkins for the blanket. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed at the head of the guards where the company the prisoner belongs to is posted.

Head-quarters, August 19th, 1775.

Parole, "JERSEY"; countersign, "KENDAL."

Colonel Samuel Gerrish, of the Massachusetts forces, tried by a general court-martial, of which Brigadier-General Green was president, is unanimously found guilty of the charge exhibited against him,—that he behaved unworthy an officer, [and†] that he is guilty of a breach of the forty-ninth article of the Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts Army. The court therefore sentence and adjudge the said Colonel Gerrish to be cashiered, and rendered incapable of any employment in the American army. The General approves the sentence of the court-martial, and orders it to take place immediately.

Head-quarters, August 20th, 1775.

Parole, "LEBANON"; countersign, "MANSFIELD."

In obedience to the orders of the 5th instant, the brigadier-general and field-officers chosen by ballot have made report to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the final settlement of the rank of all the regiments and officers in the army of the United Colonies. The General entirely approves of the proceedings of the brigadiers and the field-officers, and thanks them in this public manner for the great care and pains they have taken in establishing a point of so much importance to the army. His Excellency strictly commands all officers and soldiers to pay all due obedience to the regulation so established.

The Adjutant-General will deliver to each major of brigade, this day,

* In Fenno's Orderly Book, the name is "Campbell"; in 4 Force's "American Archives," III. 252, it is "Cornell," which may, perhaps, be the name intended by Colonel Henshaw.—Eps.

† Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book.—Eps.

at orderly-time, a copy of the rank of the regiments, of the field-officers, and of the officers of every regiment in their respective brigades.

A court of inquiry to sit this day, at three in the afternoon, to examine into the reasons of a complaint exhibited against Colonel Ebenzer Bridge.

Brigadier-General Heath, *President*.

MEMBERS.

Colonel Prescott.
Colonel Sargeant.

Colonel Woodbridge.
Lieut.-Colonel Johnnot.

Head-quarters, August 21st, 1775.

Parole, "NORFOLK"; countersign, "OPORTO."

The court of inquiry ordered to sit yesterday upon Colonel Ebenzer Bridge, to sit this day, at three o'clock, P.M.

Michael Berry, tried by a late general court-martial for stealing a hat from Captain Waterman, is found guilty, and sentenced to receive thirty lashes; but, in consideration of his long confinement, the General pardons the prisoner.

General Sullivan's brigade to be mustered to-morrow: the muster-master-general to begin with the regiment posted on the left of the lines exactly at six o'clock, with the next regiment on the left at seven o'clock, and so on, until the whole are mustered. The field and staff officers of each regiment are to be mustered in the eldest captain's company; and such as were drafted to the regiment of artillery are to be mustered only to the day they were drafted. The regiment of artillery to muster them from that time.

A sergeant, corporal, and nine men to mount guard to-morrow morning, at Mr. Fairweather's house, lately converted into an hospital. The sergeant to receive his order from Dr. Church, director of the hospital.

Head-quarters, August 22d, 1775.

Parole, "PORTSMOUTH"; countersign, "QUINCY."

As the muster-rolls cannot be properly prepared before Saturday next, the General defers the mustering of the brigade upon the left of the lines until next Monday, when the mustering the whole will take place without interruption.

Captain Pearl, of Colonel Woodbridge's regiment, tried by a general court-martial, for defrauding his men of their pay. The court are unanimously of opinion that the complaint is in no part supported, and, being vexatious and groundless, acquit Captain Pearl. The court order the chief complainant, Daniel Davids, to be confined.

The General does not mean to discourage the practice of bathing whilst the weather is warm enough to continue it, but he expressly forbids any person's doing it at or near the bridge in Cambridge, where it has been observed and complained of that many men, lost to all sense of decency and common modesty, are running about naked upon the bridge, while passengers, and even ladies of the first fashion in the

neighborhood, are passing over it, as if they meant to glory in their shame. The guard and sentries at the bridge are to put a stop to this practice, for the future.

The director-general of the hospital having complained that the sick under his care are not only incommoded by a promiscuous resort of soldiers to the rooms, but greatly injured by having improper things carried them to eat; at the same time, that many disorders, under which the sick are suffering, may be by them contracted and spread in the camp, by means of this intercourse,—it is therefore ordered, that this improper visitation be put a stop to for the future. No non-commissioned officer or soldier to be admitted into the hospital hereafter, without the leave of the surgeon then in attendance, or by a written license from the colonel or commanding officer of the regiment they belong to; in either of which case, the friends to the sick, and all those who have any real business with them, will never be denied the privilege and satisfaction of visiting.

Representation being made to the Commander-in-chief that officers are frequently seen in Cambridge, Watertown, and the towns and villages around the camp, without any leave of absence previously obtained, and contrary to all good discipline and order; and as such irregularity at this time may be productive of the worst of consequences, the General directs the commanding officers of corps to be particularly attentive to the behavior of all their officers in this particular, and, without favor or affection, confine any officers who are absent from the camp, or the lines where he is posted or encamped, without leave, in writing, first had and obtained from the general commanding the brigade; and the commanding officers of regiments are strictly enjoined to put in arrest any officer who shall for the future disobey this order.

When officers set good examples, it may be expected that the men will, with zeal and alacrity, follow them; but it would be mere phenomenon in nature to find a well-disciplined soldiery where officers are relaxed and tardy in their duty; nor can they, with any kind of propriety or good conscience, sit in judgment upon a soldier for disobeying an order which they themselves are every day breaking. The General is sorry—exceeding sorry—to find occasion to give such repeated orders on this head. But as the safety of the army and salvation of the country may essentially depend upon a strictness of discipline, and close attention to duty, he will give no countenance nor show any favor to delinquents.

Head-quarters, August 23d, 1775.

Parole, “RUMNEY”; countersign, “SUMMERSETT.”

Head-quarters, August 24th, 1775.

Parole, “TUNBRIDGE”; countersign, “ULSTER.”

Lieutenant W^m Ryan, of Colonel Nixon's regiment, tried by a general court-martial, of which Lieut-Colonel Brickett was president, is found guilty of a breach of the sixth and forty-ninth articles of

the Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts Army, and is unanimously adjudged to be cashiered. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to take place immediately.

The Quartermaster-General is to see that the different brigades, or at least each division of the army, are provided with armorers sufficient to keep the arms therein in proper repair; that they have proper places provided to work in; that they are properly attended, to prevent impositions of any kind.

He is also to employ brick-makers, under the care of Captain Francis, of Colonel Mansfield's regiment, and set them to make bricks, immediately. The necessary attendance is to be applied for, by Captain Francis, to the Adjutant-General.

The Quartermaster-General is also to receive from the general court of the Massachusetts government, or from such persons as they shall appoint to deliver them, all the shirts, shoes and stockings, breeches and waistcoats, which have been provided by the Committee of Safety for the use of the army, and settle for the same, and not deliver any from his store without an order in writing from the Commander-in-chief.

An exact return of the company of artificers, under the care of Mr. Ayres, to be given in, where they have been at work, and how employed.

The General would be glad to have the Rules and Regulations of War (as established by the Continental Congress) returned to him, signed, as he will thereupon proceed to distribute the Continental commissions agreeable to the ranks lately settled. The late paymaster of the Massachusetts troops is once more called upon in a peremptory manner to settle his accounts with the different regiments, that it may be known what money is due to the men, up to the first of this month (August). The General is very sorry that any difficulty or delay should have happened in a matter so plain and simple in its nature. He now assures the regiments of the Massachusetts, — as they seem to be the only complainants and sufferers, — that if they do not get paid by their own colony paymaster before the first day of September, that he will order James Warren, Esq., Continental paymaster-general, to pay each of the Massachusetts regiments for the month of August; and that he will, moreover, use his endeavors to have their pay, up to the first of August, settled for and adjusted as soon as possible.

Twenty men from Colonel Mansfield's regiment, and ten from Colonel Gardner's, and two from each of the other regiments in the lines and in Cambridge, to be sent to join Captain Francis, of Colonel Mansfield's regiment, to be forthwith employed in making bricks. None but men who are acquainted with that service to be sent upon it.

Colonel Prescott, with two companies of his regiment, to march to Sewall's Point this day. The Colonel will apply to the Quartermaster-General for the tents that will be wanted for this detachment.

Head-quarters, August 25th, 1775.

Parole, "WILMINGTON"; countersign, "YORKSHIRE."

If the officers who were sent upon the recruiting service are not all returned to camp, they are to be forthwith recalled, and no more men are to be enlisted until further orders.

The company late under the command of Captain Ebenezer Lindsey is to join Colonel Woodbridge's regiment, as that regiment has at present only nine companies.

As the Commander-in-chief has heretofore approved all the sentences of the general court-martials which have been laid before him, and thought himself happy in agreeing with them in opinion, so will he not now disapprove the judgment respecting Ensign Joshua Trofton, as the court have intimated that they were influenced by some favorable circumstances. Disobedience of orders is amongst the first and most atrocious of all military crimes. He desires that the conduct of Ensign Joshua Trofton, however he may have been provoked, may never be drawn into a precedent, as there are certain modes by which inferior officers may obtain redress of grievances without proceeding to any unjustifiable acts of violence.

Ensign Joshua Trofton, of 30th regiment of foot, in the service of the United Colonies, commanded by Colonel Scammons, tried by a general court-martial for offering to strike his colonel, and for disobedience of orders, is found guilty of a breach of the sixth article of the Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts Army, and sentenced to be confined to his tent for three days.

A return, signed by the commanding officer of each regiment, of the commissioned officers vacant; distinguishing their names, rank, and by what means vacant. This must be delivered to the Adjutant-General, at orderly time to-morrow.

Head-quarters, August 26th, 1775.

Parole, "AMBOY"; countersign, "BROOKLINE."

General Sullivan's brigade to be mustered upon Monday morning next, in the manner and form directed by the general orders of the 21st instant.

Head-quarters, August 27th, 1775.

Parole, "COLCHESTER"; countersign, "DOVER."

Head-quarters, August 28th, 1775.

Parole, "ESSEX"; countersign, "FALMOUTH."

As the extraordinary duty necessary for some days past prevents the mustering General Sullivan's brigade this morning, the General appoints Friday morning next for that purpose, and orders that brigade to be relieved from all but the necessary camp duty of their particular encampments Thursday morning, that they [may] have that day to prepare for their mustering.

As nothing is more pernicious to the health of soldiers, nor more certainly productive of the bloody flux, than drinking new cider, the General, in the most positive manner, commands the entire disuse of the same; and orders the Quartermaster-General this day to publish advertisements to acquaint the inhabitants of the surrounding districts,

that such of them as are detected bringing new cider into the camp, after Thursday, the last day of this month, may depend on having their casks stove.

Head-quarters, August 29th, 1775.

Parole, "GEORGIA"; countersign, "HARVARD."

For the future, the several guards mounted upon the general hospitals are to be reduced into one guard, consisting of one subaltern, three sergeants, one fife, three corporals, and thirty men. The officer, after seeing his sentries posted, is to receive his orders from Dr. Church, director-general of the hospital of the army of the United Colonies. The Quartermaster-General and Commissary-General are to see strict regard paid to the sixth article of the General Orders of the 7th July last, as complaints are continually making of the badness of the bread served to the regiments.

Head-quarters, August 30th, 1775.

Parole, "IRELAND"; countersign, "KINGSTON."

One field-officer, six captains, twelve subalterns, twelve sergeants, twelve corporals, two drums, two fifes, and three hundred soldiers from Heath's brigade, and the same from the Cambridge brigade, to parade as soon as the weather is fair, to march to Ploughed Hill. One surgeon and one mate from each brigade, to be provided with proper instruments and dressings, are to be ready to march with the above detachment.

By the orders of the 17th instant, Thomas Chase, Esq., was, to the prejudice of Samuel Brewer, Esq., through mistake, appointed to be continued to do duty to Brigadier-General Thomas's brigade, as major of brigade. His Excellency orders that mistake to be rectified, and directs Samuel Brewer to be continued to act as major of brigade to Brigadier-General Thomas. He is to be obeyed as such.

Head-quarters, August 31st, 1775.

Parole, "LONDON"; countersign, "MONMOUTH."

The colonel or officer commanding each regiment of the Massachusetts forces are, without delay, to make out an exact abstract for the month of August of the pay due to the officers and soldiers of each regiment, who were effective in the said regiment during that month, and who now continue to be effective in the same. This abstract must be signed by the colonel or officer commanding each regiment of the Massachusetts, and forthwith delivered by him to the Commander-in-chief, to the end that each of those regiments may immediately be paid one month's pay.

Head-quarters, September 1st, 1775.

Parole, "NEWHAVEN"; countersign, "ORMOND."

Complaint has been made to the General that the body of a soldier of Colonel Woodbridge's regiment has been taken from his grave by persons unknown. The General and friends of the deceased are desir-

ous of all the information that can be given of the perpetrators of this abominable crime, that he or they may be made an example, to deter others from committing so wicked and shameful an offence.

The magazine guard in the rear of General Sullivan's brigade to be relieved to-morrow morning.

Head-quarters, September 2d, 1775.

Parole, "PORTUGAL"; countersign, "QUEBEC."

Captain Edward Crafts, of Colonel Gridley's regiment of artillery, tried yesterday by a general court-martial, is acquitted of that part of the charge against him which relates to defrauding of his men; and the court are also of opinion that no part of the charge against the prisoner is proved, except that of using abusive expressions to Major Gridley, which, being a breach of the forty-ninth article of the Rules and Regulations for the Massachusetts Army, sentence the prisoner to receive a severe reprimand from the lieutenant-colonel of the artillery, in the presence of all the officers of the regiment, and that he at the same time ask pardon of Major Gridley for the said abusive language.

Lieutenant Russell, of Captain Symond's company, in the twenty-first regiment of foot, tried by the above court-martial for disobedience of orders, is unanimously acquitted by the court.

The General confirms the proceedings and sentence of the above court-martial.

Head-quarters, September 3d, 1775.

Parole, "ROXBURY"; countersign, "SCHENACTADY."

Benjamin Child, soldier in Colonel Glover's regiment, and in Captain Broughton's company, tried by a general court-martial, upon an appeal from a regimental court-martial. The court were unanimously of opinion the proceeding of the regimental court-martial was irregular, and therefore acquit the prisoner.

Head-quarters, September 4th, 1775.

Parole, "TORRINGTON"; countersign, "URBANNA." *

Head-quarters, September 5th, 1775.

Parole, "WALTHAM"; countersign, "YORK."

The general court-martial whereof Colonel Experience Storr was president is dissolved. Captain Moses Hart, of the twenty-eighth regiment of foot, tried by the above-mentioned general court-martial, is found guilty of drawing for more provisions than he was entitled to, and for unjustly confining and abusing his men. He is unanimously sentenced to be cashiered. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to take place immediately. A detachment, consisting of two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, ten captains, thirty subalterns, thirty sergeants, thirty corporals, four drummers, two fifers, and six hundred and seventy-six privates, to parade to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock,

* Fenno's Orderly Book reads "Albany." — Eds.

upon the Common in Cambridge, to go upon command with Colonel Arnold, of Connecticut. One company of Virginia riflemen, and two companies from Colonel Thompson's Pennsylvania regiment of riflemen, to parade at the same time and place, to join the above detachment. Tents and necessities proper and convenient for the whole will be supplied by the Quartermaster-General immediately upon the detachment being collected. As it is imagined the officers and men sent from the regiments, both here and at Roxbury, will be such volunteers as are active woodsmen, and well acquainted with bateaux, so it is recommended that none but such will offer themselves for this service. Colonel Arnold and the Adjutant-General will attend upon the Common in Cambridge to-morrow, in the forenoon, to receive and parade their detachments. The Quartermaster-General will be also there, to supply tents, &c.

The colonels and commanding officers of the Massachusetts regiments who have delivered in the pay abstracts at head-quarters are immediately to apply to the General for his warrant upon the Paymaster-General, James Warren, Esq., for the pay for the month of August, agreeable to the General Order of the 31st of last month.

As great complaints have heretofore been made by the men in regard to their pay, the General expects the utmost exactness and despatch be made in this payment.

Head-quarters, September 6th, 1775.

Parole, "ALBANY"; countersign, "BOLINGBROKE."

Whereas, a number of pretended sutlers, utterly disregarding the good of the service, sell liquor to every one indiscriminately, to the utter subversion of all order and good government, the troops being continually debauched, which causes them to neglect their duty, and to be guilty of all those crimes which a vicious ill habit naturally produces: to prevent such evils from spreading in the camp, no person is for the future to presume to sell any stores or liquor to the troops, unless he be first appointed sutler to some regiment by the colonel or officer commanding the same, who will immediately punish such sutler for any transgression of the rules and orders he is directed to observe. And if any person, not regularly authorized and appointed, shall presume to sell liquor or stores to the troops in the camp, it is recommended to the Brigadier-General to issue an order for securing their persons and effects: the delinquent to be punished at the discretion of a general court-martial, and his effects to be applied for the refreshment of the fatigue-men and out-guards belonging to the brigade. This order is not meant to extend to those sutlers who are appointed by government, and who are permitted to act as sutlers to the regiments for which they were appointed, they being subject to all rules and regulations of the army, the same as if appointed by the colonels.

As the remoteness of some of the regiments from head-quarters renders it difficult to send invitations to the officers, the Commander-in-chief requests, for the future, that the field-officer of the day, the officer of his own guard, and the adjutant of the day, consider them-

selves invited to dine at head-quarters; and this general invitation they are desired to accept accordingly.

Head-quarters, September 7th, 1775.

Parole, "CAMBRIDGE"; countersign, "DORCHESTER."

Repeated complaints being made by the regimental surgeons that they are not all allowed proper necessities for the use of the sick, before they become fit objects for the general hospital; and the director-general of the hospital complains, that, contrary to the rules of every established army, these regimental hospitals are more expensive than can be conceived, which plainly indicates that there is either an unpardonable abuse on one side, or an inexcusable neglect on the other; and whereas, the General is exceeding desirous of having the utmost care taken of the sick (wherever placed, and in every stage of their disorder), but at the same time is determined not to suffer any impositions upon the public: he requires, and orders, that the brigadier-general, with the commanding officers of each regiment in the brigade, do sit as a court of inquiry into the causes of these complaints, and that they summon the director-general of the hospital and their several regimental surgeons before them, and have the whole matter investigated and reported. This inquiry to begin on the left of the line to-morrow, at the hour of ten, in General Sullivan's brigade.

When a soldier is so sick that it is no longer safe or proper for him to remain in camp, he should be sent to the general hospital. There is no need of regimental hospitals without the camp, when there is a general hospital so near, and so well appointed.

Colonel Thompson's regiment of riflemen to be mustered to-morrow morning, at seven o'clock. General Green's brigade to be mustered Saturday morning, at the same hour. This corps are to be one day off duty previous to their being mustered.

Head-quarters, September 8th, 1775.

Parole, "EDENTON"; countersign, "FALKLAND."

Captain Perry, of Colonel Walker's regiment, tried by a general court-martial whereof Colonel Alden was president, for permitting persons to pass the lines on Boston Neck, is found guilty of the crime laid to his charge; but, from alleviating circumstances, is sentenced to be severely reprimanded at the head of his regiment. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be put in execution accordingly.

The detachments going under the command of Colonel Arnold to be forthwith taken off the roll of duty, and to march this evening to Cambridge Common, where tents, and every thing necessary, is provided for their reception. The rifle company at Roxbury and those from Prospect Hill to march early to-morrow morning to join the above detachment. Such officers and men as are taken from General Green's brigade for the above detachment are to attend the muster of their respective regiments to-morrow morning, at seven o'clock, upon Prospect Hill. When the muster is finished, they are forthwith to rejoin the detachment at Cambridge.

Head-quarters, September 9th, 1775.

Parole, "GENEVA"; countersign, "HARTFORD."

The major-general commanding the division of the army posted between Prospect Hill and Cambridge River is to be very exact in obliging the colonel and field-officers to lay in the encampment of their respective regiments, and particularly the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the thirtieth regiment.

Head-quarters, September 10th, 1775.

Parole, "INDOSTAN"; countersign, "KENDALL."

Head-quarters, September 11th, 1775.

Parole, "LANCASTER"; countersign, "MIDDLETON."

Colonel Eben^r Bridge, of the twenty-seventh regiment of foot, in the service of the United Colonies, tried at a general court-martial, whereof Brigadier-General Green was president, for misbehavior and neglect of duty in the action at Bunker's Hill, on the 17th of June last. The court are of opinion that indisposition of body rendered the prisoner incapable of action, and do therefore acquit him.

Ensign Moses How, of Colonel David Brewer's regiment, tried by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Alden was president, for contempt of the service. The court, after due examination of the evidence, acquit the prisoner.

Ensign Levi Bowen, of the said regiment, and tried by the same general court-martial for absconding from his regiment without leave. The court find the prisoner guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and do therefore sentence him to be cashiered.

General Heath's brigade to be mustered upon Thursday morning next, at seven o'clock; and Colonel Frye's brigade, upon Saturday morning, at the same hour.

Colonel Thompson's battalion of riflemen, posted upon Prospect Hill, to take their share of all duty of guard and fatigue with the brigade they encamp with. A general court-martial to sit as soon as possible to try the men of that regiment who are now prisoners in the main guard and at Prospect Hill, and accused of mutinying.

The riflemen posted at Roxbury and towards Lechmere's Point are to do duty with the brigade they are posted with.

The general court-martial to meet to-morrow morning at seven o'clock, to consist of three field-officers and two captains.

Head-quarters, September 12th, 1775.

Parole, "NEWBURY"; countersign, "OGDEN."

Head-quarters, September 13th, 1775.

Parole, "PEMBROKE"; countersign, "QUEBEC."

The thirty-three riflemen of Colonel Thompson's battalion, tried yesterday by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Nixon was

president, for disobedient and mutinous behavior, are each of them sentenced to pay the sum of twenty shillings, except John Leamon, who, over and above his fine, is to suffer six days' imprisonment. The paymaster of the regiment to stop the fine from each man out of their next month's pay, which must be paid to Dr. Church, for the use of the general hospital.

Head-quarters, September 14th, 1775.

Parole, "ROXBOROUGH"; countersign, "SALEM."

In obedience to the general order of the 7th instant, the inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Church, the director-general of the hospital, and the respective regimental surgeons, has been held in General Sullivan's brigade; that being finished, the General orders the like to be held forthwith in General Green's brigade.

Head-quarters, September 15th, 1775.

Parole, "PITTSBURG"; countersign, "ULSTER."

Colonel John Mansfield, of the nineteenth regiment of foot, tried at a general court-martial, whereof Brigadier-General Green was president, for remissness and backwardness in the execution of his duty at the late engagement on Bunker's Hill. The court found the prisoner guilty of the charge, and of a breach of the forty-ninth article of the Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts Army, and therefore sentence him to be cashiered, and rendered unfit to serve in the Continental army. The General approves the sentence, and directs it to take place immediately.

Moses Pickett, soldier in Captain Merritt's company, in Colonel Glover's regiment, tried at a general court-martial for disobedience of orders and damning his officer, is found guilty, and sentenced to receive thirty lashes upon his bare back, and afterwards drummed out of the regiment. The General orders the punishment to be inflicted at the head of the regiment to-morrow morning, at troop-beating.

As Colonel Frye's brigade is to be mustered to-morrow morning, General Heath's brigade will furnish the guards in and about Cambridge for to-morrow.

No returns to be made next Saturday.

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Doliver.

Head-quarters, September 16th, 1775.

Parole, "WILMINGTON"; countersign, "YORK."

James Finley, sergeant in Captain Price's company of riflemen, tried by a general court-martial for expressing himself disrespectfully of the Continental association, and drinking General Gage's health. The court sentence the prisoner to be deprived of his arms and accoutrements, put in a horse-cart, with a rope round his neck, and drummed out of the army, and rendered for ever incapable of serving in the Continental army.

John Cotton, sergeant in Colonel Cotton's regiment, tried by the

same general court-martial for defrauding the regiment of part of their allowance of provisions. The court sentence the prisoner to refund and pay back fourteen pounds, six shillings, and four pence to said regiment, and be disqualified to serve in said regiment as quartermaster-sergeant for the future.

Head-quarters, September 17th, 1775.

Parole, "ANDOVER"; countersign, "BEVERLY."

The Rev. Mr. John Murray is appointed chaplain to the Rhode Island regiment, and is to be respected as such. Colonel Prescott being taken sick, Lieutenant-Colonel Johnnot, of the twenty-first regiment, is to go forthwith to Sewall's Point, to take the command of that regiment.

Head-quarters, September 18th, 1775.

Parole, "BRUNSWICK"; countersign, "CAMBRIDGE."

The inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Church, director-general of the hospital, and of the respective regimental surgeons, to be held to-morrow morning, in General Heath's brigade.

Head-quarters, September 19th, 1775.

Parole, "DANVERS"; countersign, "ESSEX."

Head-quarters, September 20th, 1775.

Parole, "FALMOUTH"; countersign, "GLOUCESTER."

As the commissions are ready to be delivered to the officers serving in the army of the United Colonies, the General recommends it to them to apply, as soon as it is convenient, to him, at head-quarters, for the same. No person is to presume to demand a Continental commission who is not in actual possession of the like commission from the proper authority of the colony he is at present engaged to serve, which must be produced at the time application is made for a Continental commission. If, from unavoidable circumstances, any gentleman has served from the beginning of the campaign in the rank of a commissioned officer, and has not yet received a commission, being justly entitled thereto, such officer's pretensions will be duly weighed and considered; and, upon sufficient proof of the justice of his claim, a commission will issue accordingly. The General expects that every officer delivers his present commission, or claim to a commission, to his colonel, or officer commanding the regiment; and each colonel, or officer commanding a regiment, is forthwith to apply to the General for the commissions for the officers of his respective regiments. The colonel of the first, second, and third regiments to apply to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock; and so on, day by day, until the whole are supplied. Three regiments to apply each day.

Head-quarters, September 21st, 1775.

Parole, "HANOVER"; countersign, "IPSWICH."

Whereas, frequent applications are making to the General, Com-

mander-in-chief, by officers of all ranks and denominations, for an allowance of rations of provisions, which are not only absolutely necessary, but usually and customarily allowed to them, the General has thought proper to order and direct, that from the first day of July last there be issued by the commissary-general the following proportion of rations, viz. :—

To each major-general	15 rations.
” ” brigadier-general	12 ”
” ” colonel	6 ”
” ” lieutenant-colonel	5 ”
” ” major	4 ”
” ” captain	3 ”
” ” subaltern	2 ”
” ” staff-officer	2 ”

Head-quarters, September 22d, 1775.

Parole, “LYNN”; countersign, “MARBLEHEAD.”

The under-named prisoners, tried by a general court-martial for mutiny, riot, and disobedience of orders, are severally guilty of the crimes wherewith they are accused; and the court, upon due consideration of the evidences, do adjudge that the prisoner, Joseph Seales, receive thirty-nine lashes upon his bare back, and be drummed out of the army; and that the prisoners, John Gillard, Jacob Smallwood, John Peltro, Samuel Grant, Hugh Renny, James Jeffry, Charles Alcrain, Samuel Hannis, Charles Pearce, James Williams, John Kelly, John Bryan, and Philip Florence, do each of them receive twenty lashes upon his bare back, and be drummed out of the army; the prisoners, Lawrence Blake, Samuel Bodine, John Besom, Benj^a Bartholomew, Francis Ellis, Joseph Lawrence, John Sharp, John Poor, Joseph Fessenden, John Foster, John Lis, Lawrence Bartlet, Philip Greaty, Peter Newell, Samuel Parsons, Jeremiah Daily, Francis Greateon, Richard Pendrick, Robert Hooper, Anthony Lewis, Nicholas Ogleby, and Thomas Metyard, be fined twenty shillings lawful money each,—Joseph Foster, Joseph Lawrence, and Joseph Fessenden being recommended by the court-martial as proper objects of mercy. The Commander-in-chief is pleased to remit their fine, and to order the sentence upon all the others to be put in execution, at guard-mounting, to-morrow morning. Those upon Prospect Hill to receive their punishment there; the rest at the main-guard.*

John George Frazer, Esq., being appointed assistant to the Quarter-Master-General for the district of Prospect and Winter Hill, he is to be obeyed as such.

Colonel Starks, of New Hampshire, having complained that, through mistake or inadvertency in the court which was appointed to settle the rank of the regiments and officers of this army, he had not justice

* The copy of this order in 4 Force's "American Archives," III. 855, has John Lee instead of Lis, Peter Neivelle instead of Newell, and Francis Greater instead of Greateon. The last two variations are probably misprints. — Eps.

done him, even upon the principles which they themselves had laid down for their government in that matter, the General orders that the brigadier and the six field-officers who composed that court do sit to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, to inquire into the cause of this complaint. At the same time, if Colonel Doolittle, who has also expressed some dissatisfaction on account of his rank, can urge any thing new to the court, he may be heard.

The court are desired, likewise, to settle the rank of the officers of the rifle companies posted at Roxbury.

Head-quarters, September 23d, 1775.

Parole, "NEWBURY"; countersign, "PLYMOUTH."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Tyler.

Head-quarters, September 24th, 1775.

Parole, "QUEBEC"; countersign, "RICHMOND."

Major Scarborough Gridley, tried at a late general court-martial, whereof Brigadier-General Green was president, for being deficient in his duty upon the 17th of June last, the day of the action upon Bunker's Hill. The court find Major Scarborough Gridley guilty of a breach of orders. They do therefore dismiss him from the Massachusetts service; but on account of his inexperience and youth, and the great confusion which attended that day's transaction in general, they do not consider him incapable of a Continental commission, should the general officers recommend him to his Excellency. The General confirms the dismissal of Major Scarborough Gridley, and orders it to take place accordingly.

George Hamilton, soldier in Captain Dexter's company, in Colonel Woodbridge's regiment, tried at a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Nixon was president, for stealing a blue great-coat, the property of Solomon Lathrop. The court find the prisoner guilty of the charge, and sentence him to receive thirty lashes upon the bare back, and to be drummed out of the army; and order his captain to deduct 10s. 10d. lawful money out of his pay, and pay it to Mr. Penyer, for so much paid by him to the prisoner on the coat, and that the coat be returned to Mr. Lathrop. Jonathan Sharpe, of Captain Loise's company, in Colonel Phinney's regiment, tried at the same court-martial for stealing cartridges from his comrades, is acquitted. The General orders the sentence upon the prisoner Hamilton to be executed, and the prisoner Sharpe to be released.

The General directs the following minutes from the House of Representatives of this colony to be inserted in the General Orders:—

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Sept. 23, 1775.

Resolved, that the Speaker, Mr. Gerry, and Major Hawley be, and they hereby are, appointed a committee to apply to his Excellency, George Washington, Esq., with a desire of this House, that he will as soon as may be, cause a return to be made of the names of the

officers and men to each regiment established by this Colony, and now in the American army, respectively belonging, including such of each regiment as are deceased since its establishment, or have been drafted for the detachment ordered to Quebec, and specifying the names of the towns and other places from which they were respectively enlisted, in order to enable the court to rectify and prevent any error in accounts which have been, or may be, rendered for payment of blankets and other articles supplied the soldiers according to the terms of their enlistments.

A true copy from the minutes.

Attest :

SAMUEL FREEMAN, *Clerk.*

The inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Church, director-general of the hospital, and the respective regimental surgeons, to be held to-morrow, in Colonel Frye's brigade.

The general court-martial whereof General Green was president is dissolved.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, September 25th, 1775.

Parole, "SANDWICH"; countersign, "TRURO."

As frequent applications to the majors-general for furloughs have become very troublesome, and takes up much of their time, the following method of granting them, for the future, is to be observed, and under no pretence whatsoever to be dispensed with, until further orders on this head; viz.: The colonel, or commanding officers of regiments or corps, when they find it really requisite, and not else, have permission to give furloughs to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the corps they respectively command, provided they do not suffer more than two privates to be absent at any one time from a company, and not more than one non-commissioned officer; nor allowing any person to be absent from his duty more than twenty days in six months. In extraordinary cases, a further indulgence may be given by the general of brigade, upon application from the colonel. All commissioned officers are to apply for leave of absence through their own colonel or commanding officer, to the general of brigade to which they belong, who is desired never to suffer more than one field-officer and four others to be absent at any one time from a regiment, nor for more than twenty days in six months. In extraordinary cases, a further indulgence may be given by the major-general commanding each division, upon the application of the brigadiers of his division.

As the committee have settled the rank between Colonel Stark and Colonel Jon^s Brewer, the General desires the colonels of the regiments Nos. 6, 7, and 8 will apply immediately for Continental commissions for the officers of their respective corps; and that the three next regiments in succession will apply to-morrow morning; and so three every morning afterwards, until the whole are served.

Head-quarters, September 26th, 1775.

Parole, "VIRGINIA"; countersign, "WALTHAM."

For the future, the weekly returns on Saturdays are to be made

in the old form. The majors of brigade will give printed forms, as usual, to the adjutants of every brigade, at orderly time, to-morrow.

Rank of the Regiments of Foot in the service of the United Colonies.

Colonels.	Lieut.-Colonels.	Majors.
1. Frye.	1. Wyman.	1. Poor.
2. Thompson.	2. Tyler.	2. Clarke.
3. Reed.	3. Hand.	3. Bowne.
4. Learnerd.	4. Glaveland.	4. Holman.
5. Nixon.	5. McDuffee.	5. Jackson.
6. J. Brewer.	6. Hutchinson.	6. Wiston.
7. Stark.	7. Shepard.	7. Putnam.
8. Fellows.	8. Moulton.	8. Prentice.
9. D. Brewer.	9. Nixon.	9. McGaw.
10. Prescott.	10. Holden.	10. Green.
11. Poor.	11. March.	11. Sawyer.
12. Varnum.	12. Alden.	12. Smith.
13. Parsons.	13. Eager.	13. Cilly.
14. Hitchcock.	14. Putnam.	14. Angell.
15. Church.	15. Cornell.	15. Tupper.
16. Cotton.	16. Babcock.	16. Sprout.
17. Little.	17. Pitkin.	17. D. Wood.
18. Danielson.	18. Stores.	18. Sherburne.
19. Mansfield.	19. Smith.	19. Buttrick.
20. Reed.	20. Clapp.	20. Austin.
21. Glover.	21. Bond.	21. Cady.
22. Walker.	22. Gillman.	22. M. Wood.
23. Whitcomb.	23. Brickett.	23. Cudworth.
24. Doolittle.	24. Robertson.	24. Danielson.
25. Woodbridge.	25. Reed.	25. Leonard.
26. Patterson.	26. Baldwin.	26. Lee.
27. Bridge.	27. Keys.	27. Collins.
28. Sargeant.	28. Buckminster.	28. Hall.
29. Huntingdon.	29. Leonard.	29. Brooks.
30. Scammon.	30. Miller.	30. Stacy.
31. Phinney.	31. Whitney.	31. Mitchel.
32. Ward.	32. Johnnot.	32. Johnston.
33. Wyllis.	33. Brown.	33. Loring.
34. Stores.	34. Douglass.	34. Meigs.
35. Bailey.	35. Durkee.	35. Jacobs.
36. Greaton.	36. Thompson.	36. Biglow.
37.	37. Enon.	37. Moore.
38.	38. Mitchel.	38.
39.	39. Vose.	39.
40.	40. Barnes.	40.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1876.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, 9th instant, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the preceding meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read his list of donors to the Library for the month.

The President said he had just returned from the "Centennial," and he desired to place in the Library some catalogues of the great exhibition which he had procured there; also a book by "Gideon Nye, C.M., A.G.S.," published at Canton, China, entitled "The Opium Question and the Northern Campaigns," &c., presented to him and now placed in the Library.

He also laid before the Society a petition to Congress, asking that body to purchase the papers of General Count Rochambeau, agreeably to a resolution introduced by Senator Anthony, of Rhode Island; and the Society authorized the President and Secretary to sign it in behalf of the Society, the memorial having been already signed by a large number of persons representing libraries in all parts of the country.

The President also communicated a copy of records of the First Church of Christ in New London, Connecticut; viz., "An account of the Children baptised in the First Church in New London, after the death of the Rev. Eliphalet Adams, the pastor thereof, who dyed Oct. 4, 1753." The paper also contained a few memoranda relating to the administration of the Lord's Supper. These transcripts were made and presented to the Society by Mr. Greenfield Fosdick, 309 West Twenty-fourth Street, New York.

Another manuscript, recently transcribed from an older family record, was presented to the Society by J. Langdon Ward, Esq., 120 Broadway, New York. It related to the family of Joseph Clough, of Salem; being a record of births, deaths, and marriages, in which the names of Gray, Ward, Foster, and others, are introduced.

The President read the following interesting private letter from Bishop Whipple, who had just returned from a tour of four thousand miles over our Western States and Territories, as a commissioner to treat with the Indian tribes:—

FARIBAUT, MINN., NOV. 2, 1876.

MY DEAR MR. WINTHROP, — I reached home the 31st, after some four thousand miles travel. We visited some twenty thousand Indians,

and held numerous councils, and succeeded in our errand. It was the saddest and most difficult work that I have ever undertaken. The treaty of 1868 provided that these Indians should have the sole occupancy of this Territory. It has been violated. The Indians say the war is a white man's war. They have a way of saying plain things. Spotted Tail said to me: "You have come to remove me. Since I was pledged a home from which I should never be removed, I have been moved five times. The Great Father had better put his red children on wheels."

A chief asked me one day: "If white men had a valuable country which people come to take by force, what would they do? Would they fight?"

Yet, with all, we gained their confidence; and the agreement provides: 1. That no able-bodied Indian shall have rations unless he labors; 2. That all Indian children between six and fourteen shall attend school in order to receive rations; 3. That all employés of the government shall be lawfully married, and live with their families; 4. That bad white men shall not be permitted among them; 5. That they shall have personal rights, and a title to their homes; 6. Be subject to law. I am sure that, if honestly fulfilled, it will do much to solve the Indian question.

The army have complicated matters by seizing the arms and ponies of the friendly Indians. When I tell you that there is no wood for the Indians at the agencies, that they have to live where they can get wood ten and twenty miles away, you can judge what it means for this poor people to go in one of our winters this distance for food.

Yet I feel that this poor race trust us; and, by God's help, we will save them.

The world call me a fool, and some friends a fanatic; but I find my duty is plain, and I can walk on unmoved, and wait.

I will tell you all when I see you.

I am to be the guest of Mr. Mason. If you allow me, I will come out to breakfast or dine; for I wish to pay my respects to Mrs. Winthrop.

Many, many thanks for the books, which are a great treasure. I was startled to hear of the death of Judge Watson,—an honest man and a wise friend. He has only gone before, and in a little while our turn will come. It matters little, if we are found working and waiting. I try to keep brave old Gideon's motto, "faint, but pursuing."

With much love, yours ever,

H. B. WHIPPLE.

Hon. R. C. WINTHROP.

Mr. E. B. BIGELOW, in presenting a copy of "The American Centenary," an elegant volume by B. J. Lossing, giving a history of the progress of the Republic of the United States during the last one hundred years, gave a brief account of the progress of the arts in manufacture, especially as to labor-saving machinery, during the past few years, including an interesting sketch of the growth of the town of Clinton in

this State, which owed its prosperity to various power-loom of his own invention.

General Horace Binney Sargent asked leave to copy some letters or extracts from the Heath Papers, and leave was granted under the rules.

The President said that the committee on the loan collection of the Old South desired to borrow the Society's copy of the picture of Governor John Winthrop, and leave was granted.

Mr. George B. Chase, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

The Hon. William M. Evarts, of New York, was elected an Honorary Member.

Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, of Newport, Rhode Island, and the Rev. John R. Green, of England, were elected Corresponding Members.

Mr. TUTTLE said that he had received several fine photographic views of historic mansions in Devonshire, England, which he submitted to the inspection of the members of the Society. They had been sent to him by their present proprietors, whose ancestors had dwelt in them many centuries. Two were views of the Dartington House, the residence of the ancient and knightly family of Champernowne, and the birthplace of Captain Francis Champernowne, who emigrated to New England in the reign of Charles I. This venerable structure was built by the Dukes of Exeter, of Plantagenet lineage, in the reign of Richard II. There were also two views of the Falford House, celebrated in connection with the great civil war, and long inhabited by the knightly family of Falford. The mother of Captain Champernowne was of this family, and born in this house.

Paul Revere's Signal.

Mr. DEANE said that some of the members of the Society would remember an interesting communication which appeared some months ago (July 20) in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," entitled "Paul Revere's Signal: The true story of the signal lanterns in Christ Church, Boston." It was written by the Reverend John Lee Watson, D.D., formerly of Trinity Church in this city, and now residing in Orange, New Jersey; and took the ground that the person who hung out or displayed the lanterns on Christ Church steeple, on the night of the 18th of April, 1775, was not Robert Newman, the sexton of the church, but John Pulling, a friend of Paul Revere. Dr. Watson's statement seemed to be conclusive, and to be fully concurred in by our historical

friends. Mr. Deane said that Dr. Watson had sent to him a slip from the "Advertiser" containing his article, with some corrections and additions; and he now communicated it to the Society, believing that it would find an appropriate place in our Proceedings.

PAUL REVERE'S SIGNAL: THE TRUE STORY OF THE "SIGNAL LANTERNS" IN CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON.

To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser: —

It will be remembered by many persons in Boston, that, last year, in the Centennial celebration of the events of the night of April 18, 1775, it was stated by my friend, the esteemed Rector of Christ Church, Boston, that the signal lanterns which directed the movements of Paul Revere on that night were "hung out on the steeple of the Old North Church" by one Robert Newman, who, it was said, was then the sexton of that church. Knowing that this statement could not be correct, and having my attention called to the matter by a kinswoman of mine, who furnished me with additional reasons for believing that the honor of aiding Paul Revere on that "night much to be remembered" belonged rightfully to a member of our own family, I addressed a letter to the reverend Rector, asking for the authority on which he had made such a statement. In his very kind reply to my inquiry, he told me that he "had received his information from Mr. S. H. Newman, son of the sexton, Robert Newman"; and that his story was supported by the remembrances of, 1st, an elderly woman, "Mrs. Sally Chittenden, now ninety years of age, who is the grand-daughter of John Newman, brother of Robert"; 2d, "of Joshua B. Fowle, living at Lexington, who knew Paul Revere, who often came with the other patriots of his time to his father's house. It was the common talk among them that Robert Newman put up the lanterns." 3d, "William Green, who lives at the North End, is the grandson of Captain Thomas Barnard. His sister, eighty-four years old, remembers Robert Newman." "All these say it was the universally received opinion that Robert Newman displayed the signal lights."

This is all, and I have no occasion to make any remark upon their evidence.

The reverend Rector also writes that "the sexton was arrested, but nothing was proved against him. After giving the signal, he made his way out of a back window of the church into his house, and was found in bed." And he adds: "Our records — that is, the records of Christ Church — fail us in the Revolutionary period, and say nothing about the signal lanterns."

Now, I have a story to tell, which, I think, will give a different aspect to this matter; and I claim "the honor of raising the signal lanterns" for Captain John Pulling, of whom I will relate all that may be necessary to substantiate his claim.

John Pulling, Jr., son of John and Martha Pulling, was born in Boston, February 18, 1737, and was brought up in Christ Church, where

his father was a warden in 1752-53, and a vestryman several years subsequently. He received his education in the town schools of that day, and before the period of the Revolution was established as a merchant, in extensive business. He married, first, Annis Lee, daughter of Colonel John Lee of Manchester, Mass., a well-known patriot of that day, and by that marriage was connected with Jeremiah Lee of Marblehead, "who," says a journal of those times, "was one of the most eminent merchants on the Continent; a member of the Committee of Safety, and a resolute asserter and defender of the liberties of his country." Mr. Pulling was also the brother-in-law of John Glover, and Joshua and Azor Orne of Marblehead, of William Raymond Lee and Marston Watson, all officers of the Revolutionary army. I find also in the "Records of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety," recently published for the first time,* that he and Paul Revere are mentioned together as "Captain John Pulling and Major Paul Revere," and as chosen members of that committee; and from the titles given them it may of course be inferred that they both held commissions in the Continental service. It is also recorded, that "at a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, in public town meeting assembled, at the Old Brick Meeting-house," &c., it was "voted that Captain John Pulling, Major Paul Revere," and others, "be appointed a sub-committee to collect the names of all persons who have in any way acted against or opposed the rights and liberties of this country," &c. They were both also the associates of Hancock, Warren, Adams, and other leading patriots; and most noteworthy is it that Paul Revere and John Pulling, intimate friends from boyhood, *always acted together*. These particulars are sufficient indications of the character and standing of John Pulling, and the estimation in which he was held by the "men of the Revolution."

His first wife, Annis Lee, died August 11, 1771, leaving a son and a daughter; and in January, 1773, he married Mrs. Sarah (Thaxter) McBean, the widow of Major Duncan McBean, by which marriage he acquired a large property in the West Indies.

The following is Paul Revere's narrative of the events of the night of the 18th of April, 1775: "On Tuesday evening, it was observed that a number of soldiers were marching toward Boston Common. About ten o'clock, Dr. Warren sent, in great haste, for me, and begged that I would immediately set off for Lexington, where were Hancock and Adams, and acquaint them of the movements, and that it was thought they were the objects. On the Sunday before, I agreed with a Colonel Conant, and some other gentlemen," — in Charlestown, — "that, if the British went out by *water*, we should show *two* lanterns in the North Church steeple, and if by *land*, *one*, as a signal; for we were apprehensive it would be difficult to cross over Charles River. I left Dr. Warren, called upon a friend and desired him to make the signal. I then went home,† took my boots and surtout, went to the

* New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. xxx. p. 382.

† He lived at that time in "North Square."

north part of the town, where I had kept a boat. Two friends rowed me across Charles River, a little to the eastward where the 'Somerset' lay. It was then young flood; the ship was winding, and the moon was rising. They landed me on the Charlestown side. When I got into town, I met Colonel Conant and several others. They said they had seen our signals.*

Here, then, we trace the course of the movements on that eventful night. At ten o'clock, Paul Revere was sent for by Dr. Warren, who informed him of the intended march of the British to Lexington and Concord, and begged him to proceed immediately to Lexington and acquaint Hancock and Adams of the movement. He left Dr. Warren's residence in Hanover Street,† and then *called upon a friend*, — his most intimate friend, John Pulling, — and *desired him to make the signals*. This, of course, was the most critical and hazardous part of the whole enterprise. It was full of difficulty and danger, and required of any one who should undertake it the union of discretion and judgment, with a degree of courage and firmness which could contemplate certain death as the only alternative of success. The soldiers were in the streets, at no great distance from the church; and not only was there the risk of the light being observed in that quarter, but also, as Pulling said, "he was afraid that some old woman would see the light and scream fire."

No one who knows any thing of Paul Revere will for a moment suppose, that, having been intrusted with an important duty, he would have committed this most perilous part of it to any one but a *friend* in whose prudence or courage he could confide for life or death. Such a man was John Pulling: he had been, from boyhood, his most intimate friend; he had shared with him in the hopes and fears and deep anxieties of Warren and Hancock and Adams, and been acquainted with their most secret plans for alarming the people about the intentions of General Gage. He, then, it was who was "called upon" by his friend Paul Revere, and "desired to make the signals" which had been agreed upon between them.

As soon as he received his notice, he left his house,‡ and, watching his time, went over to the sexton's in the same street, and asked for the keys of the church, which, as he was a vestryman, the sexton could not refuse to give him. He then went into the church, locking himself in; and, climbing to the upper window of the steeple, he there waited for a favorable moment, and then hung out the signal of two lanterns, as had been agreed upon, by which those on the other side would "know that the British were going by water." In the mean time, Paul Revere had been "rowed by his friends a little to the eastward of where the 'Somerset' lay," to avoid detection by those on board; and, landing on the opposite shore, "had joined Colonel Conant

* Paul Revere's Narrative, Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. v., 1st Series.

† On the site of the present American House.

‡ In Salem Street.

and others" in Charlestown, who told him "they had seen the signals." Finding, also, that they had provided him with a horse, "he springs to the saddle," and starts at once on that "midnight ride" which the words of the poet have made famous.

... "And through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night."

When it was discovered by the British authorities that the signals had been made from Christ Church, "a search was immediately set afoot for the rebel who made them." The sexton of the church was suspected and arrested. He protested his innocence; and, when questioned, declared that "the keys of the church were demanded of him at a late hour of the night by Mr. Pulling, who, being a vestryman, he thought had a right to them; and, after he had given them up, he had gone to bed again, and that was all he knew about it." This answer was sufficient to procure his release, and turn the search towards Mr. Pulling.

In the mean time, a Mrs. Malcolm, a Scotch woman, and wife of a near neighbor of Mr. Pulling, — who was under obligations to him for some service he had rendered him, — came to him with a message from her husband, "that he had better leave the town as soon as possible, with his family." And this he did, disguised as a laborer, on board of a small craft loaded with beer for the man-of-war lying in the harbor. In some way, one of the sailors belonging to the craft had known Mr. Pulling, and to him he confided his wish to escape from Boston with his family. The sailor said, "if the skipper of the craft should be on board, he would not allow of any delay; but if the mate, who was a good-natured fellow, should have the command, he would be willing to put him ashore on his return." This proved to be the case, and Mr. Pulling and his family were landed at Nantasket. How long he remained there is not known, — probably not long; but his wife and family continued to live there for some time, suffering from want of all the necessaries of life; for they had carried nothing with them, — every thing had been left behind. And when Mr. Pulling returned to Boston, — after the siege was raised, — he found his dwelling-house and stores and abundant means all so injured or destroyed, that at the end of the war all his property was gone. He died soon after, and the family at once removed to Hingham, Massachusetts.

Such is the true story of the "signal-lanterns," derived principally from the letters of my kinswoman, the grand-daughter of John Pulling, whose very clear and accurate accounts of the matter form the main source of the foregoing narrative. She also writes: "The story of the lanterns I heard from my earliest childhood from my mother and from my step-grandmother, and I never supposed there could be a doubt of its truth. I *know* that he held the lanterns on that night, but how can I prove it after all these years? If this sexton, Newman, — I never heard his name before, — was the person, and was arrested, as the Rector of the church says he was, is it very likely he could escape, and remain

in Boston? And are sextons, as a class, so intelligent and so reliable as to have been chosen for and intrusted with such an important affair? My grandfather was the *intimate friend* of Paul Revere; and because I knew this I inquired of Mr. Longfellow, a few years since, if he could tell the name of "the friend" in the poem. The answer he gave the person who made the inquiry for me was, 'that he found the incident mentioned in a magazine, and that it gave him the idea of the poem.' Is it probable that this *friend* was the sexton?"

I can add my own testimony to my kinswoman's statement, that I distinctly remember hearing my mother and my aunt, both of them sisters of Mrs. Annis Pulling, relating the same story in our family, and saying that they considered his "showing the signals on that night, at the peril of his life, as one of the most daring deeds of the Revolution;" and they were accustomed to speak of it, with justifiable pride, as characteristic of their brother-in-law, John Pulling.

Thus, then, we have the evidence of family tradition that John Pulling was the *friend* whom Paul Revere "called upon and desired to make the signals." And, if the probabilities in the case are considered, I think they will fully sustain the family traditions. To bring them all forward would be only to repeat the questions which have been so well put by my kinswoman, in the extracts which I have given from her letters. But, as I wish to submit the case to the impartial judgment of any one who can discriminate between truth and error, I ask again, Is it probable that Paul Revere would be likely to commit that part of his enterprise, on which every thing else depended, to any one but a tried and trusty friend, on whose prudence and vigilance, as well as fidelity and courage, he knew he could rely? And is it within the bounds of probability that the sexton of the church — perhaps no better and no worse than sextons usually were at that time — could have been such a friend of Paul Revere, and also an associate of Warren, Hancock, and Adams, acquainted with all their secrets and sharing in all their counsels?

And this brings me to another point, which appears to me to be conclusive on the subject. In Paul Revere's Narrative,* he gives an account of about thirty persons, mechanics and others, "who had agreed to watch the movements of British soldiers and Tories." These patriots met at the Green Dragon tavern in Union Street. "We were so careful," he says, "that our meetings should be kept secret, that every time we met every person swore upon the Bible that they would not discover any of our transactions but to Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Drs. Warren, Church, and one or two more"; that is, to the committees chosen by themselves, to which both Paul Revere and John Pulling belonged.

And I ask, Is there a man living in Boston, who, with all the knowledge we have of the truly noble character of Paul Revere, can believe that he violated his solemn oath to Almighty God by intrusting to the sexton of the church that secret, which he had "sworn upon the

* As quoted in Frothingham's Life of Warren, p. 441.

Bible" he would discover to no one except to the committees, "Warren, Hancock, Adams, and one or two more"? I think not; and I maintain that this point alone, if duly considered, will be sufficient to set at rest the question about the "signal lanterns," and that tardy justice, delayed for a hundred years, shall at length be rendered to the name and services of a man every way worthy to stand on the page of our early history, as he had stood through life, side by side with his friend Paul Revere.

In the statements which have now been made, I trust that the Rector of Christ Church will recognize no want of that respect and regard which, he must know, I have always entertained for him; for, although it was only by the sanction of his name and position that the sexton story could obtain any notoriety, yet I am sensible that no fault can be imputed to him on this account, as it was not possible for him to be acquainted with the facts which have now for the first time been made public. And I indulge the hope that, when he has read this communication, he will be ready to acknowledge that the honor of "hanging out the signals in Christ Church," for the guidance of "Major Paul Revere," on the night of the 18th of April, A.D. 1775, belongs rightfully and exclusively to his friend "Captain John Pulling," merchant of Boston.

JOHN LEE WATSON.

ORANGE, NEW JERSEY, July, A.D. 1876.

Mr. DEANE continued: Since the publication of that article, Dr. Watson had heard that some gentlemen here, who fully concurred in his opinion as to the agency of Robert Newman in displaying the lanterns, had some doubts as to the church itself from which the lights were shown; that is to say, whether they were shown from the steeple of Christ Church, or from that of the Old North Meeting-house, inasmuch as Paul Revere, writing in 1798, and Richard Devens, writing without date, but evidently some years after the occurrence of these events, both say "North Church." Feeling confident that Christ Church was the place at which the signals were made, and being desirous that those having any doubts respecting it should see the grounds of his opinion, Dr. Watson has written me a letter on the subject, which I now lay before the Society. (See page 173.)

Dr. Watson seems to me to be equally happy in establishing his last proposition; and in confirmation of his position that Christ Church was known at that period and called "the North Church," certainly some time before Paul Revere wrote his interesting account of the incident, I will read some extracts from an unpublished correspondence between a warden of Christ Church in Cambridge and Dr. Walter, Rector in 1792 of Christ Church in Boston; also one from the wardens

of Christ Church in Boston to a warden of Christ Church in Cambridge:—

I. *Jonathan Simpson to Rev. Dr. Walter*, 26 October, 1790: "Dr. Winship and the two Wardens of the North Church in Boston have just left me."

II. *Rev. Dr. Walter to Jonathan Simpson*. Shelburne, N.S., 5 November, 1790: "At the same time the Proprietors of the North Church were in a strange dilemma."

III. *Jonathan Simpson to Dr. Walter*, 2 March, 1791: "I am excessively mortified to hear that you have desir'd the Wardens of the North Church to procure you a house in their neighbourhood." "Nor had I any idea when I partially consented to an union with the North Church." "All the world (except the North Church people) consider you as engaged to us, nor must you blame us if we cannot consent to your residing with the North people." "I am sorry that the North Church take an undue advantage of our generosity in admitting them to an union with us. If you give up your residence among us, it is my opinion that our Church will not be connected with the North Church." "I see now I went too far in saying that we were willing to be connected with the North Church at all."

IV. *James Sherman and Charles Williams, Church Wardens*. Boston, 21 March, 1791: "We this day received yours of 5 March instant, directed to the Wardens of the North Church, Boston."

V. *Dr. Walter to Jonathan Simpson*. Shelburne, N.S., 5 April, 1791: "The two Churches of Cambridge and Boston North being united under me with an assistant." "I have only some fears in my own mind respecting the gentlemen of the North."

But it has been said that, although Christ Church may have been popularly called "the North Church" after the old North Meeting-house was taken down, yet it was never so called while the latter was standing.

This is a mistake, as I will now proceed to show.

The Rev. Mather Byles, Jr., while pastor of the First Church in New London, became an Episcopalian, and received in 1768 a call to Christ Church, in Boston, whose rector, Dr. Cutler, had died three years before. His acceptance created considerable dissatisfaction in the New London parish, and resulted in a conference between the pastor and people, an account of which was published that year, in a pamphlet of considerable interest.*

* A Debate between the Rev'd Mr. Byles, the Pastor of the First Church, in New London, and the brethren of that Church, held at the meeting-house, previous to his leaving said Society, containing the substance or heads of the Discourse which then passed. As also a specimen of one of the many volumes which Mr. Byles is supposed to have been convinced by, &c. By A. Z., Esq. See 34th chap. of Ezekiel. To which are added some remarks. New London: Printed in the year 1768. Sold at Draper's printing-office, Boston.

On the reverse of its title-page, the writer says, "As the Public are so very desirous of knowing the Reasons of Mr. Byles's leaving the Church of Christ, in New London, where he was so happily settled to all Appearance, in so unexpected a departure for Boston, without Time or Inclination of seeing or bidding any of his best Friends farewell; will let them know it is in Consequence of an Invitation of the Wardens, Vestry, &c., of the Episcopal *North Church*, Boston: which he has thought fit to accept," &c. Then follows the account of the Conference, near the beginning of which the minister says, "I will now communicate to you a letter I received from the wardens and vestry of the *north church*, in Boston, dated 8th of March," &c. (p. 3). "And since that have received a line from brother Walter, wherein he advises me: 'This day, at a meeting of the wardens and vestry of the *north church*, in Boston, they have come to the determination of sending for you to Boston,'" &c. (p. 4).

Mr. Byles's acceptance of the call to Christ Church made it necessary that he should go to England, to receive ordination; and he accordingly went, bearing a letter to the Secretary of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, &c., dated "Providence, 5th May, 1768," of which the following is an extract: "Rev. Sir,—The bearer hereof is Mr. Byles, a New England gentleman, was bred a Dissenter; his Father the Doctor still a Pastor in Boston. . . He is now going to England for Episcopal Ordination, under I doubt not a full and clear Conviction of its superiority. He has accepted an Invitation from the *North Church* in Boston where the late Dr. Cutler was their long and faithful Pastor." . . . *

J. GRAVES.

Mr. Byles continued to be the Rector of this church till 1775, when the troubles of the Revolutionary war intervening, and his parishioners being divided in political sentiment, the church was closed. (Dr. Burroughs's Hist. Address, p. 24.)

Paul Revere, writing to Dr. Belknap, on the Lexington and Concord affair, in 1798, says that he had agreed with Colonel Conant and some others of Charlestown, the Sunday evening before (*i.e.*, two days before the 18th of April), "that if the British went out by water we would show two lanterns in the North Church steeple, and if by land one, as a signal, for we were apprehensive it would be difficult to cross the Charles River or get over Boston Neck." In saying "*North Church*," Revere would be likely to use a name which his readers, at

* Perry's Hist. Coll. relating to the Am. Col. Church III. 336.

the time he wrote, understood; and we have just seen, in the correspondence above cited, in 1790 and 1791, that by "the North Church" Christ Church was intended. We have also seen that by that name Christ Church was known just previous to the time the affair of the lanterns took place. If Revere had meant to describe or refer to the "Old North Meeting-house," which had stood in North Square, and had been destroyed by the British during the siege, whatever name that old structure once bore, would he not have said so?

I now wish to call attention of members to Price's large map of Boston, dated 1743, on which all the churches of Boston are delineated. "Christ Church" is shown to have a very tall steeple, rising from a high tower; while the "Old North Meeting," as the inscription reads at the bottom of the map, has only a low tower or belfry, terminating abruptly in a point. Devens says the signal "was a lantern hung out in the *upper window* of the tower of N. Ch. towards Charlestown." Now the Old North Meeting-house had no "upper window" answering to this description. It had simply one window (if it may be so called), — an opening at the place where a bell may have hung. Christ Church, on the contrary, had both an upper and a lower window in its tower, above which its spire rose. The language of Devens, and also of Revere, — the only authorities hitherto relied on, — if carefully considered, clearly sustain the view advocated by Dr. Watson. Moreover, the position of Christ Church, elevated, just opposite Charlestown, was a fit place from which such signals could be seen. Not so, it is believed, with the Old North Meeting-house, as well from its location, surrounded by buildings, as from its having no tower or steeple or spire, properly so called.

A writer of bad verses (happily unpublished), residing in the vicinity of Boston, under date of "March 15, 1795," *three years* before Paul Revere wrote his letter to Dr. Belknap, and *fifty-four* years before Richard Devens's memorandum was published by Mr. Frothingham, thus commences his poem, entitled "Story of the Battle of Concord and Lexington, and Revere's Ride, twenty years ago": — *

"He spared neither horse, nor whip, nor spur,
As he galloped through mud and mire;
He thought of naught but liberty,
And the lanterns that hung from the spire."

* These verses were written on some half-dozen leaves of an old folio account-book, dated as above, and signed "Eb. Stiles." The detached leaves were presented to the Cabinet of this Society last year.

If not a uniform rule, certainly the general custom seems to have been, as Dr. Watson shows, to denominate the places of worship of Dissenters as "meeting-houses." On Price's editions of Bonner's map of Boston, 1743 and 1769, copies of each of which are in my own possession, we have the following marginal references to the body of the map: "The Old Meeting, Old North M., Old South M., Anabaptist M., King's Chapel, Brattle St. M., Quakers' M., New North M., New South M., French M., New No. Brick M., Christ Church, Irish Meeting-house, Hollis Street Meeting, Trinity Church, Lynds Street Meeting." (Many of these places of worship on Bonner's original map, 1722, were designated as "churches"; but that name was afterwards carefully erased, except where it was applied to Episcopal churches.)

Religious bodies known as "churches," a name dear to our fathers, were connected with every Dissenting, or what we now call Orthodox, religious society; comprehending a select body of the "saints," the visible Church. To this body the minister sustained peculiarly close relations. The whole society, in fact, existed for the Church, and was guided and governed by the Church which gave its name, so to speak, to the whole worshipping assembly. To speak, therefore, of Dr. Lathrop's Church was to speak of his worshipping assembly, not his meeting-house, or place of worship. The "Old North Church," as a religious body, worshipped in the "Old North Meeting-house." The location of these Boston "churches" may be seen in Fleet's Register, and other statistical books of the time.

Misapprehensions and errors arise by not paying sufficient attention to the meaning of words and terms as they are found recorded in old books. When the records of the "Old North Church" are spoken of, or when it is said that the "Old North Church" had owned a piece of land or other property, it should be known that the religious association, either the church or the society, is intended, and not the meeting-house, which could not properly be said to keep records or to hold property. Dr. Watson's letter to me here follows:—

ORANGE, NEW JERSEY, October 21st, A.D. 1876.

MY DEAR SIR,— Since the publication of my letter to the editors of the "Boston Daily Advertiser," I have received a great many letters from persons interested in the matter, all of which, with scarcely an exception, express the belief of the writers that "John Pulling was the man who showed the lights for Paul Revere on the night of the 18th of April, 1775"; and none of them intimate any doubts of Christ Church being the place where they were shown.

I have learned, however, from a friend that one or two gentlemen, especially conversant with the history of those times, "have the impression that it was "from the 'Old North Meeting-house,' not from 'Christ Church,' that the signals were put out." Having great deference for the opinions of those gentlemen, and being desirous of removing their doubts, I trust to your kindness to excuse the liberty I take in addressing you, as one interested in the subject, and asking you to do me the favor of bringing to the notice of those gentlemen, as you may have opportunity, the following reasons for my belief that the "steeple of Christ Church" was the place where the lights were shown by John Pulling.

As far as I am informed, the only objections to this statement, of any importance, are, first, that Richard Devens, a well-known patriot of that day, in a letter without date, but written probably in 1775 or 6, speaks of "the lights being shown from N. C'h." — by which it is supposed he meant "North Church"; and, second, that Paul Revere, in his Narrative, written in the year 1798, twenty-three years after the event, makes use of the same term, the "North Church"; and it is claimed that, in both these instances, the words "North Church" mean "North Meeting-house."

In reply to these objections, I beg leave to state the well-known fact that the Puritan forefathers of Massachusetts, and the ministers and writers of their generation generally, were very scrupulous about applying the word "Church" to their "places of worship," and used it, principally, to designate the "communion of the society to which they belonged," as distinguished from the "non-communicating parts of the congregation"; both together forming "the Church and Congregation worshipping in the North or South Meeting-house." And so tenacious were they of this phraseology, that, if a few solitary instances are found to the contrary, they ought to be considered as the exceptions, which prove the general rule. Most persons are so well acquainted with this familiar fact, that I cannot but think it unnecessary to say any thing more about it, except to notice some instances which occur in the few books within my reach. In "The Siege of Boston" and "The Life of Joseph Warren," by Mr. Frothingham, it will be found, in almost every instance, that where the buildings are spoken of, and the words of the original writers are preserved, it is "Meeting-house" which is used; though often changed, or explained by the historian, to mean "Church." I may also refer to Dr. Belknap's writings, and particularly to the account of his visit to the camp in Cambridge, Oct. 22, 1776, where he speaks of "preaching in the Meeting-house"; and to the Diary of Dr. Sewall, the minister of the "Old South Meeting-house," as he always called it; and to Judge Sewall's Journal; and to Snow's History of Boston; and to Greenwood's "History of King's Chapel"; and to various articles in the Massachusetts Historical Collections; the "Journal of Deacon Newell"; "The Diary of Ezekiel Price"; and indeed, generally, to the journals and newspapers of those days. In a word, if one had courage and patience enough to examine the venerable and dusty piles of religious pamphlets, which

have accumulated in the closets and upper rooms of many of our large libraries, and to select from them the "dedication sermons," and other writings of the "pious and pains-full" preachers of those times, he would find, probably, more than a thousand instances of the use of the word "Meeting-house" to designate the places of worship of their own or kindred denominations, and scarcely one of the word "Church" being applied to any other than those of the Episcopal, or Church of England congregations. And, if he wanted additional proof of this, he might find it, perhaps, in that humble elevation in Roxbury, which they called "Meeting-house Hill," because they had built a place of worship there; which name, I believe, still remains, a perpetual memorial of the peculiar phraseology of our forefathers, in their religious nomenclature. From these and other considerations, and from the testimony of elderly persons to the same effect, I think I am justified in believing that the writers of those times, and people in general, when they spoke of the congregational places of worship, called them "Meeting-houses"; and that if Devens and Revere had meant the "North Meeting-house" as the place where the lights were shown, they would have so written it.

In the next place, I wish to call attention to the fact, that the custom of calling "Christ Church" the "North Church" began in pre-Revolutionary times, and prevailed very generally in the times of Devens and Revere. This custom arose from Christ Church being the most northerly church in Boston, and having a very lofty steeple, — at that time 191 feet in height, and after the gale in 1804 reduced to its present height, 175 feet, — which formed the most conspicuous landmark for vessels entering the harbor, and thence being well known, especially among the merchants and seafaring men, and generally among the inhabitants of the North End, as the "North Church." I have an impression, also, that it was so designated in the printed directions to pilots and masters of vessels entering the harbor. The Rev. Dr. Greenwood, in his "History of King's Chapel," — when giving an account of the "increase of Episcopacy in Massachusetts, in the year 1723," says: "And thus Dr. Cutler" — who had been a Congregationalist, and President of Yale College — "became the first Rector of the North, or Christ Church." I have a letter from a lady whose mother was a member of Christ Church in those times, who says "that, when young, she seldom heard it called by any other name than the North Church; and that she was twelve years old before she ever heard a Meeting-house called a Church, and then it was by a person from the South, and not a New-Englander." I have also lately been informed that the descendants of John Pulling's second wife say of her, "that she always called Christ Church the North Church," and whenever she told her story of the lanterns, which she was fond of repeating, said "that it was from the steeple of that church that they were shown." And this custom continued to a very late period, and, possibly, even now continues. And, in this connection, I may be permitted to add the testimony of my own experience, — now, of three-quarters of a century, — for, though brought up in Trinity Church, I had friends

and acquaintances in Christ Church, with whom I associated,—and in my boyhood I scarcely knew that that church had any other name than the North Church. In later years, in my intimacy with a very dear friend, who was then the Rector of that church, the Rev. Dr. Croswell, when conversing together about the events of its former days, we were very much in the habit of calling it the Old North Church; and I have now before me letters from the same friend, after he left Boston, in which he speaks of it, in affectionate terms, as “the dear Old North”; and in the “Memoirs” of his life, written by his father, there are letters and pieces of poetry, dated from the “Cloisters of the Old North Church.” I conclude, from these and other circumstances that might be mentioned, that when Richard Devens wrote “N. Ch.,” he meant “North Church” or “Christ Church,” as the place where the signals were shown.

And all this applies to Paul Revere’s account, with still greater force. For, as is well known, the North Meeting-house was destroyed by the British in the year 1776; and afterward, “as the Old North Society had lost their Meeting-house, and the New Brick Society had lost their minister, the two congregations united, and worshipped together,” in the building called the New Brick Meeting-house. But Revere wrote his Narrative in the year 1798; and it is scarcely probable that, in that account, he would have referred his readers to a building which, twenty-three years before, had been “entirely demolished and consumed for fuel”; at least, without some explanation. And therefore I conclude, also, that when Paul Revere wrote “North Church,” he meant “Christ Church,” and called it by the name which was most familiar to himself and his readers.

Although it may be thought that enough has been said to resolve all doubts, yet I may be allowed to observe that all the probabilities in the case seem to be decisive in favor of Christ Church as the place. It appears from the records of that church, as quoted by the Rev. Dr. Eaton, in his historical account, in 1823, that “the Rector, the Rev. Mather Byles, Jr., continued his services till April, 1775, and then went to Portsmouth, N.H.”; and, also, that “from this time the church was closed till August, 1778.” This, of course, would render it easy for Pulling—a vestryman, having authority—to have entire control of the building, and go in and out, and do as he pleased, without interruption. Besides that, the steeple of Christ Church was the very best place for hanging the lanterns, so that the lights could be seen by Conant on the beach in Charlestown, and also be concealed from the British, who were, mainly, in an opposite direction. Now, to compare these circumstances with those of the Meeting-house. As far as can be ascertained from any and every source, it was a low wooden building, with a small open belfry, in North Square, immediately opposite the soldiers’ barracks, where the troops were then mustered, with sentinels at every corner and outlet. I cannot think there is the least probability that Pulling would choose such a place, where he would have found it difficult to enter without being discovered; or, if he succeeded in entering, and showing the lights, where they would

have been immediately seen by the troops, and where they could not possibly be seen by Conant on the beach in Charlestown. It is true that all the streets of the North End were full of danger that night, but it is plain that the North Square was the most dangerous of all; and it seems to me that the North Meeting-house, in the North Square, was the very last place that Paul Revere and John Pulling — who were not deficient in prudence and discretion — would have been likely to choose for their operations on that eventful night.

There is much more of this kind of evidence which might be brought forward; but I will only add, at present, that some weight should be given to the fact that the two traditions, though disagreeing as to the man, yet concur in representing Christ Church as the place; and that it was the sexton of Christ Church who was suspected and arrested, "because the lights were shown from the steeple of that building."

And now, sir, I cannot but think that these considerations will be sufficient to remove the doubts which may have arisen in the minds of others; and — in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, or in favor of any other place — to incline them to believe that the "steeple of Christ Church" was the place where John Pulling "showed the lights," at the request of his friend Paul Revere.

But, whatever may be the result, I feel well assured that these views will receive impartial consideration; and am, sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN LEE WATSON.

CHARLES DEANE, Esq., LL.D., &c., &c.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1876.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, 14th December, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the previous meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read his list of donors for the past month.

The Corresponding Secretary reported letters of acceptance from Mr. George B. Chase, elected a Resident Member; Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a Corresponding Member; and the Hon. William M. Evarts, an Honorary Member.

Among the gifts announced were two frames containing photographic *fac-similes* of the original stamps issued by the British government in the year 1765, for the purpose of taxing the American colonies. The originals are preserved in the department of inland revenue, Somerset House, London; and the privilege of photographing them was granted as a

mark of special favor. They were presented by Messrs. J. W. Scott & Co., of New York.

A silver medal of the Rev. William E. Channing, D.D., of which only twenty-five copies were struck, was presented by Mr. Henry W. Holland.

Fine photographs of the statues of John Winthrop and of Samuel Adams, the gift of Massachusetts for the Capitol at Washington, were presented by the Hon. F. W. Lincoln, Ex-Mayor of the city of Boston.

The Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., read a letter from Mrs. Emily W. Appleton, presenting to the Society, through him, the old Indian weather-vane, with its bow and arrow, which for so many years stood on the Province House in this city. This venerable and interesting relic was exhibited at the meeting; and Dr. Ellis, in presenting it in the name of Mrs. Appleton, said:—

Mr. President, it gives me pleasure to be the medium of presenting to the Society, for preservation in its Cabinet, an interesting relic associated with our provincial history. I will read the following note, which will inform the Society of the source of the gift. It is addressed to me by Mrs. William Appleton:—

76 BEACON STREET, Dec. 7, 1876.

DEAR SIR,—Accompanying this note, I send you the old Province House Indian. It stood on the house in Brookline which I inherited from my father, the late Dr. John C. Warren. When I parted with the house, the Indian was put in a safe place, and kept there until the present time. It has been in my possession twenty years, and my father had it several years before his death. Believing the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society a suitable place for it, I ask the favor of you to present it, in my name, to that Society, and oblige,

Yours respectfully,

GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D.

EMILY W. APPLETON.

Of course, Mr. President, suitable acknowledgment will be made by the Society, to Mrs. Appleton, of our appreciation of her kindness in this valuable gift. And I shall close the few words which I have to say now with a motion to that effect.

It so happens that, after an interval of a long period of years, the Society has now come into the possession of the second of the two chief insignia which marked the official residence of the royal governors of our old Province of Massachusetts Bay. We have long had in our keeping the deep and well-carved, and once gilded, oaken tablet, bearing the

royal arms, which was attached to the balcony over the main entrance to the Province House. The copper-moulded Indian was set over the lantern-like cupola of the edifice when, from having been private property, occupied for a dwelling-house, it was purchased by the public treasury for a public purpose. While the Province allowed the king's arms to crown the doorway, it thus surmounted the edifice with the emblem from the centre of the old colonial seal. Mr. Shaw, in his "History of Boston," published in 1817, — the year in which the State parted with the ownership of the building, — inadvertently wrote that the edifice was built by the Province for the residence of the governor.

It was built in 1679, solidly and sumptuously, for his own residence, by an Englishman, Peter Sargeant, who had become an opulent merchant of Boston. The bricks used in its construction were brought from Holland, and still remain in the parts of the walls of the building which are yet standing. The Province purchased the building in 1716, and, with its successor, the State was in possession of it for just one hundred years. It is described as situated on Marlborough Street, that part of the present Washington Street having been once so called. But it stood back a hundred feet from the highway; the front land having trees, a lawn, and a paved carriage-way. Its first official occupant would seem to have been Governor Shute; though when his successor, Burnet, came to Boston, in 1728, he is said to have gone temporarily to a private house, the Province House not being ready for his reception. Perhaps the building was then under repair. Burnet died there. Governors Shirley, Pownall, Bernard, Gage, and Howe successively occupied it; Hutchinson having his own stately residence in the town. The edifice performed this royal service for exactly half a century. The English General Howe took French leave of it. Governor Strong, at the beginning of this century, seems to have been its last official occupant.

When earnest efforts, prompted by generous private gifts, were made for founding and maintaining the Massachusetts General Hospital, the State made three contributions to the enterprise: a power to the corporation to grant annuities on lives, — which power the corporation made over to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, in consideration of one-third of its net annual profits for insurance on lives; the labor of the convicts in the state prison in hammering the stone used for the hospital; and the Province House estate. The estate was then about half an acre of land, of an estimated value of \$20,000. In 1817, the hospital leased the

estate for ninety-nine years, to David Greenough, for \$2,000 a year, or an outright commutation of \$33,000. In 1824, the lessee chose the latter condition, and covered most of the land with additional buildings. The whole estate reverts to the hospital in 1916. The original stately mansion was put to various mean uses, and was destroyed by fire in 1864. Only a portion of its walls, left standing, have been incorporated in other buildings.

The Indian was not an ornament of the structure as originally built and occupied by Mr. Sargeant; but was probably provided as an emblem to be reared aloft, at the time of the purchase by the Province, or soon after.

It is the handiwork of Deacon Shem Drowne, who afterwards made the grasshopper on Faneuil Hall, after the pattern of that on the Royal Exchange, London. The Indian stood upon his perch till within about thirty years; firmly doing service as a vane, without the help of compass points. He is made of two sheets of copper hammered in a mould, and soldered lengthwise. He has glass eyes. It does not appear that the copper was ever gilded, but rather touched off with paint or bronze. From the sole of his foot to the top of his plume, he stands four feet six inches; from his elbow to the end of the arrow set in his stretched bow is four feet. One of his plumes is missing. The weight is forty-eight pounds. A strong iron spindle passes through his left leg. His costume is the same as that with which our first progenitor was furnished for a warmer climate on going from the Garden of Eden.

I move, Mr. President, that the thanks of the Society be returned to Mrs. Appleton for her gift, and that this relic be placed in our Cabinet.

The thanks of the Society were ordered for this gift, and for those gifts before mentioned.

The President read a letter from the Rev. Charles H. Brigham, President of the New England Society of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, saying that the Society would hold this year its usual festival on the 22d of December; and "we wish," he continues, "in this Centennial year to be in communication with the historical societies of the old home, and should take it as a distinguished favor if the Massachusetts Historical Society, through its President, could send us a word of sympathy," &c.

On which it was voted that the President be requested to respond to Mr. Brigham's letter.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

The Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D.D., of Brooklyn, N. Y., was elected a Corresponding Member.

An application of Mr. Henry Adams to copy from the Heath Papers was granted under the rules.

Voted, To transfer to the American Antiquarian Society Hall's Diary, in two volumes, manuscript; which Mr. Haven, the librarian, confidently believes is the property of that Society.

Professor Washburn, from a committee appointed at the April meeting to consider the subject of applying to the Legislature for leave to hold more property, and to elect more Resident Members than the present charter allows the Society, submitted the following report: —

That in their judgment there should be an application made for such leave to add to the amount of property which the Society may hold, and an increase in number of its Resident Members; and they recommend the adoption of the following vote: —

1. *Voted*, That it is expedient to ask of the Legislature authority to hold property, exclusive of their Library, to the value of \$300,000.

2. *Voted*, That it is expedient to ask permission of the Legislature to remove all limitation, except such as the Society may fix by its by-laws, as to the number of its Resident Members.

3. *Voted*, That the Society approve and adopt the petition which has been published to be offered to the Legislature in its name, embracing the two foregoing subjects.

EMORY WASHBURN, *Chairman*.

Professor Washburn explained to the Society why he had published the petition to the Legislature before waiting for instructions from the Society, saying it was necessary from the short time which intervened before the meeting of that body; whereupon it was

Voted, To approve of the action of the committee in publishing the notice aforesaid.

Voted, To postpone the action of the Society, on the recommendations in the report of the committee, to the next stated meeting; and that the Secretary notify the members that the question relative to the increase of the Resident Members [on which there seemed to be a difference of opinion] will be acted on at that meeting.

Dr. ELLIS reported the following Memoir of the late Rev. Charles W. Upham: —

MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES WENTWORTH UPHAM.

BY GEORGE E. ELLIS.

CHARLES WENTWORTH UPHAM, though he was not born within the limits of the United States, had every other claim to its full and honored citizenship. Here he passed all but the early boyhood of his life; and here, in several forms of high service, he discharged a larger variety of trusts than is often assigned to the most favored of those born on our soil. He came of a family among the original English Colonists of Massachusetts Bay. A line of five generations between his first ancestor here and himself gives us the names of those who were trusted and serviceable in all the ordinary and emergent offices, calling for able and faithful men, in the development of communities and States.

The first of the family in Massachusetts was John Upham. His gravestone, in the old burial-ground of the town of Malden, implies that he was born in England, in 1597, near the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He emigrated hither at the age of thirty-eight, with wife and children, and settled at Weymouth. He was admitted a freeman — signifying his being in church covenant — Sept. 2, 1635; and was repeatedly deputy or representative from that town in the General Court. Before the year 1650, he had removed to Malden; serving the town and the court as selectman and commissioner, and in the municipal trusts then committed to the worthiest citizens. He died in 1681, aged eighty-four; having been for twenty-four years a deacon of the church.

A son of John Upham, who would seem to have been the first of his children born in the colony for the defence of which he was to give his life in Indian warfare, was Lieutenant Phineas Upham. He died in Malden, October, 1676, at the age of forty-one, from wounds received in the Great Swamp Fight with the Narragansetts, in Philip's war, Nov. 19, 1675. Just previous to the breaking out of the war, which disabled him for nearly a year afterwards and brought

his life to a close, he had been engaged in the first enterprises for the settlement of Worcester.

The eldest son of the lieutenant bore his name; and died in Malden, in 1720, at the age of sixty-two, after having served as selectman, representative, and deacon of the church.

A third who bore the name of Phineas, and the eldest son of him just named, was the progenitor of a numerous family connection; which, including the subject of this Memoir, offers us a long list of men widely known over our extending country, eminent and honored in all professions and pursuits, — in trade, in law, in medicine, in scholarship, and philosophy, in the churches and colleges, and in the senates of the States and the nation, — and of women, also, as wives, mothers, and matrons in the best of our households.

One of the sons of the third Phineas Upham was Dr. Jabez Upham, who went to Brookfield, Mass., and there practised his profession as a physician till his death, in 1760. His son, Joshua Upham, was the father of the subject of this Memoir; and because of a special interest attached to his life and experience, connected with the early fortunes of his son, the writer of these pages must anticipate a matter in the line of his narrative.

The last, and it may fairly be said the most genial and the most felicitously wrought, labor of the pen of our late associate was his Memoir of Colonel Timothy Pickering, soldier and statesman, Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General of the army of the Revolution, and Postmaster-General, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State, of the United States. In his later years he was a much honored and esteemed parishioner and intimate friend of Mr. Upham, then minister of the First Church in Salem. There was still another tie between the venerated Pickering and his biographer, which the latter felt to be a warm and strong one, as the patriot statesman had been in Harvard College the classmate and chum, and continued to be the friend, of Mr. Upham's father, though their ways in troubled times divided their interests and fortunes. The reader of the admirable biography of Colonel Pickering will notice that, among the incidental episodic discussions in which Mr. Upham allows some liberty to his own pen, always adding charm and vigor to his pages, is one on the treatment of the Loyalists, or so-called Tories, on the first outburst of the spirit of liberty in Massachusetts and the other Provinces. It might seem as if the biographer's prompting in this plea was a somewhat personal one, as he was himself the son of an exiled and proscribed Loyalist. But his plea and argu-

ment may be allowed to stand on their own merits of pertinency and cogency. His views and his judgment in the matter wholly coincided with those of Colonel Pickering. And it can hardly fail to strike the reader that the course which Mr. Upham thinks would have been a wiser one in the treatment of our Loyalists was precisely that pursued by our own government on the close of the War of Secession, in restoring to all their former political and social rights even the foremost leaders of the Rebellion.

Joshua Upham was born in Brookfield, Mass., in 1741. He graduated at Harvard College in 1763. In view of the agitations and alienations which were to be so painfully active among the members of that class when, after their pleasant fellowship in the College, they in a few years should find themselves at variance in the entrance of their manly careers, it is interesting to note the many names on the list which are associated with a remarkable personal history on both sides in the Revolutionary strife. There stand the names of the honored patriot, Josiah Quincy, Jr., prematurely called from the good service which he was so nobly rendering; of Nathan Cushing, Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; and of Timothy Pickering, just mentioned. These are conspicuous names on the winning side. There, too, is the name of a neutral or a mediator, — that of John Jeffries, who returned from his medical studies in Aberdeen, just as our strife was opening, in the British naval service; went off with General Howe, as surgeon to the forces in Nova Scotia, and also in Charleston, S. C.; returned to England, crossed the British Channel to France, in a balloon; and came back, in 1789, to practise his profession in Boston. The names on the college catalogue were then arranged in the order of social rank. After the name of Upham come those of Jonathan Bliss — afterwards Upham's brother-in-law — and of Sampson Salter Blowers, these three being all refugees in the war. Upham and Bliss became Judges of the Supreme Court of the Province of New Brunswick, Bliss being the Chief Justice; and Blowers, Chief Justice of that of Nova Scotia. The last-named lived beyond one hundred years before he was starred in the catalogue. Similar divergences may be traced in the fortunes of members of the classes preceding and following that of 1763. They contained many prominent men, whose careers on either side were fond subjects of interest and study to the subject of this Memoir, as they illustrated history and character.

Joshua Upham began the study of law in Brookfield, and had won much distinction at the Worcester bar; being greatly

honored in his profession, and greatly respected for public spirit as a citizen up to the painful crisis in his lot. It is remarkable that, while those who were driven to the royal side, as he was, generally accorded with the British policy in the suppression of manufacturing enterprises in the Colonies, he was very active in promoting such provincial industries. In March, 1768, a meeting was held in Worcester of those who, indignant with the prohibitory measures of England, were in favor of advancing manufactures. The famous Ruggles opposed the disloyal movement; but Upham approved it. He, with two brothers and other gentlemen, had built a woollen manufactory in Brookfield,* and he had made efforts to introduce the manufacture of salt at stations on the sea-coast. But he fell upon distracted times; and there can now be no harm in saying that, like many others in the country of a class of so-called Loyalists, who were at worst only timid, halting, or cautious, while sincerely upright, conscientious, and patriotic, he received unmerited harsh treatment. Committees of correspondence, of espionage and inquisition, became very active, sometimes overbearing and impertinent, in every town. The business which they assigned to themselves was to put to the question of King or People every citizen, especially the more prominent ones in place or influence. Hurry and dictation were offensive to some, who needed only time and freedom of action to bring them into accord with the popular movements. On receiving a somewhat imperious call from the committee of his town, for a statement of his opinions and purpose in the critical state of affairs, he replied by a letter, which is printed in Force's "American Archives," fourth series, vol. ii., page 852, dated May 20th, 1775. In this letter, he says he is pausing to decide on the position which he shall himself take, until, after free debate and a proper deliberation, the majority of the people have committed themselves to the one or the other alternative. He will not set up his private judgment against that of the people, but claims a right to express his own views and apprehensions to help in the decision of the question. Then he will acquiesce in the popular resolve, and take common part and lot in measures designed to save the country in resisting the royal government, though he may think such measures improper, and not likely to be successful. In the mean while, he demanded freedom of opinion, and security for person and property. But the intense feelings of the hour, and the humor of

* See Boston Evening Post, Oct. 10, 1768.

his fellow-citizens, would not admit of what seemed weak and cautious temporizing, and a timid mistrust of a hopeful cause. The coolness of treatment which he received, with threats or apprehensions of what might follow, drove him, as they did many others under like circumstances, to the protection of the royal sympathizers in Boston. This act decided his future for him. Without means of support for himself and family in a besieged town, he accepted from the British commander the office of supervision of the refugees from the country, and, soon after, an appointment as aid on the staff of Sir Guy Carleton, subsequently Lord Dorchester, between whom and himself there continued a warm friendship. The close of the war found him at New York in the British service as a colonel of dragoons. He was among the proscribed whose estates were confiscated by the State of Massachusetts in 1778; and nothing but exile was before him. Mr. Upham had married, first, a daughter of Colonel John Murray, of Rutland, Mass.; and, on her decease, a daughter of Honorable Joshua Chandler, of New Haven, Conn. The latter was the mother of the subject of this Memoir and of several other children. The stately mansion-house of her father was afterwards long known as the "Tontine" Hotel, in New Haven. A building of the same name succeeds it on the same site. Mr. Upham's fine homestead in Brookfield long served a similar use.

Colonel Pickering, who, as above stated, was one of those who disapproved of the summary measures pursued towards the so-called Loyalists, felt a sincere sympathy for his old college chum, Upham. In a letter which he wrote to a friend in March, 1783, he says that Upham had expressed to a correspondent in Boston, where he had left a daughter, an intention of returning there; and he adds, "Upham is a good-hearted fellow, and probably would not have joined the enemy but for his marriage connections." After the close of hostilities, and during the long delay in the evacuation of New York, Pickering, who had hoped to have a friendly interview with Upham, which the hurried departure of the latter prevented, wrote to him from West Point, Nov. 14, 1783, a most cordial letter of unbroken regard and sympathy. To this Upham, on the 18th, replied in the same spirit of kindness and esteem, saying, "I leave the country for the winter from pecuniary considerations, not from resentment." *

New Brunswick, which had been a county of Nova Scotia,

* *Life of Timothy Pickering*, Vol. I. pp. 405, 491, 492.

called Sunbury, was separated and made a distinct government and province in 1784. At the first organization of the Supreme Court of the Province, Joshua Upham was made an assistant justice, Nov. 25, 1784. He was also, with other refugees, on the council of Thomas Carleton, Esq., who was commissioned as first governor of the Province. The judge faithfully and ably discharged the arduous duties attendant upon the tasks assigned him, under the conditions of a rough country and a settlement among a raw and heterogeneous population. His brethren on the bench sent him to England in 1807, on a mission to the government, for securing a more complete organization of the judiciary of the Province. He met with perfect success in the purpose of his errand. He also made many strongly attached personal friends, among whom were Mr. Palmer, who bequeathed his valuable library to Harvard College, Sir John Wentworth, Sir William Pepperrell, and Mr. Spencer Perceval. The last-named gentleman, Chancellor of the Exchequer, formed so strong a regard for Mr. Upham — who died in London in 1808, and was buried in the Church of Marylebone — as to continue acts of substantial kindness to the widow and children, whom the judge had left with very slender means. The Chancellor, a few days before his assassination, sent a considerable sum of money, — four hundred silver dollars, — with books and other valuable gifts, for the education of the subject of this Memoir.

Charles Wentworth Upham was born in St. John, New Brunswick, May 4, 1802. This was at the time a wild, unsettled region of forest, on the edge of the farthest boundary of the Province, — a region now partly the parish of Upham and partly Sussex Vale, bordering on the St. John's River, on the Bay of Fundy. Till 1785, the region was a part of Nova Scotia. Many of the Hessian soldiers settled after the Revolution in that neighborhood.

Judge Upham's house was on the banks of the river Kennebekasis. The scenes around it, and the conditions of domestic and social life which it involved, were for several years rough and severe. Still, they had their compensations in the occasions for activity, enterprise, and sterling virtues which they presented, and were especially favorable to the development of good qualities in the children born and trained there by worthy parents. Had the Chancellor Perceval lived longer, it is probable that Charles might have been sent to England, under his patronage, and continued through life a British subject. He gave early indications of the mental powers and proclivities which distinguished his maturity, and

from his boyhood improved every opportunity which his own efforts and the aid of others could secure for his education and culture. After the death of his father, and when he was but eight years of age, he was sent to a school then recently established at St. John, where instruction in Latin was offered. Still another occasion presented itself, which might have resulted in making him a British subject and naval officer for life. He was a bright and handsome youth, remarkable then, as always, for personal beauty and attractiveness. These qualities drew to him the interest of Captain Blythe, of the British brig "Boxer," then stationed at St. John, during the war between Great Britain and her former colonies. The captain was about securing to the boy a midshipman's warrant aboard his vessel; the mother having, though with reluctance, given her consent to the proposal. Just as the scheme was maturing, word came in that the United States brig "Enterprise," Lieutenant Burrows, was off the coast. Captain Blythe slipped his cables, and hurried out to engage her. The vessels came to action off Portland Harbor, Sept. 4, 1813. After a gallant and sanguinary combat, the "Boxer" was captured; but both the commanders were killed, and peacefully interred side by side. When (as will be noted further on), in the temporary raging of the excitement in the political field of the "Know-Nothing" or Native American party, Mr. Upham was superseded as a representative of his district in the National Congress, this friendly purpose toward him of Captain Blythe was made the starting-point of a story that he had once served in the British navy. Charles was then put into an apothecary's shop, charged with the preparation of medicines and prescriptions, and with attending on the proprietor, Dr. Paddock, of St. John, a physician and surgeon in large private and hospital practice. Here the youth, with his characteristic industry and love of learning, read through the whole Edinburgh "*Materia Medica*." But the death of his employer again arrested the current of his life in the direction of a professional education. He was sent to a farm fifteen miles above Annapolis, in the valley of the river of the same name, where he performed such rough and useful service as his years allowed. In 1813, just before the close of the war, Mr. Phineas Upham, a merchant of Boston, and cousin of Charles, happening, on a visit to St. John, to see his young kinsman, proposed to befriend him by training him for business in his store. From the inducements offered by this opportunity, maturely reflected upon, the subsequent career of the youth was decided. He

started, unaccompanied, on June 14, 1816, being then fourteen years old, to return to the country of his ancestry. He was then at an age to have formed abiding impressions of the scenes and companions of his youth. One of his life-long interests was to retain and extend his knowledge of the history, the fortunes, and the inhabitants of the Provinces which Great Britain reserved in America. He had occasion to know how feelings of embitterment in many of their inhabitants for two generations had grown from an undue or ill-timed severity towards the native or resident Loyalists at the opening of our Revolution. He believed, with reason, that more tolerant or conciliatory treatment of them would in many cases have drawn them over to the popular and successful side, and would have averted the rise and growth of prosperous settlements on our northern and eastern borders, whose interests have sometimes clashed with our own, and who have more than once in our history threatened a dangerous hostility against us. He continued, by correspondence, a close connection with the members of his family whom he had left behind him; and in later years the survivors of them were frequently his visitors. As will be mentioned by and by, on graduating from Harvard College, in 1821, in company with a friend and classmate, he made a tour in the Provinces, and visited his mother, then residing in Annapolis. He made a second visit to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, in 1844, accompanied by his friend, Mr. Humphrey Devereux, of Salem.

There must have been something venturesome and exciting for the boy, as his own protector and guide, in a time of hostilities, travelling over disturbed scenes by sea and land to reach a new home. He crossed the Bay of Fundy, and then made his way to Eastport, Me., held at the time by the British; and, following the coast, he reached Boston on June 27. His kind kinsman received him into his family and counting-house, intending to train him for business. But his evident talents and tastes for a higher mental culture were indulged; and, with a view to his preparation for a college course, he was sent to a school in Boston, under the charge of the late Deacon Samuel Greele, among whose pupils he was the eldest, while Robert C. Winthrop was the youngest.

He entered Harvard College in 1817, and, pursuing the usual course, graduated in 1821. His class contained many members who, like himself, attained distinction in mature life, and filled many places of trust and influence. How he stood among his associates will soon appear from communications from two of them, with which the writer of this Memoir has been kindly favored. His first and constant object was

to secure the highest improvement of the opportunities which he enjoyed; and the second, consistent with the first and helpful to it, was to win the respect and love of his teachers and associates. Though his kinsman cheerfully assumed the expense of his education and maintenance, young Upham felt prompted, alike by his circumstances and his inclination, to avail himself of the usual resource of many students in those days, — that of teaching school in country towns through a prolonged winter vacation, while following on with the studies of his class. The winter of his Sophomore year was thus spent at Wilmington, Mass.; where, nearly a half century before, he had been preceded in the office by Benjamin Thompson, afterwards the famous Count Rumford. The winter of his Junior year was spent in similar service in the town of Leominster, and that of his Senior year in Bolton.

Of his course and standing in College, the following letters from two of his classmates furnish hearty and appreciative estimates; and what the writer has heard in conversation from other members of the class is of the same genial and admiring tone. The writers of both these letters were present at the last rites of respect and affection for Mr. Upham. The first of them is from Honorable Josiah Quincy, a former Mayor of Boston: —

QUINCY, Nov. 20, 1875.

MY DEAR DOCTOR ELLIS, — I do not know that I can give any particular reminiscences of my friend and classmate, Charles Wentworth Upham. His chum for part, if not the whole, of his college course, was the late Benjamin Tyler Reed, the founder of the Episcopal Seminary at Cambridge. Upham was very handsome and very popular, and was the second scholar in the class. Robert W. Barnwell, of South Carolina, was the first, and was a nearer friend to Mr. Upham than to any other of the young men of the North, — there being a line of distinction between those who came from the South and those from the North. The former were very polite, but, except among themselves, very reserved and distant. Barnwell was a leader in our rebellion at College on account of the suspension of Manigault, who was his room-mate and friend. He was afterwards almost the author of the great Rebellion against the Union; being a Senator of the United States from South Carolina, the author of the ——— letter to the President, which even Mr. Buchanan refused to receive, and subsequently a member of the Confederate Senate during the whole war. His house was burned by Sherman, his slaves freed, and he reduced to poverty. He is now President of the College at Columbia, S. C. He commanded the Harvard Washington Corps, of which Mr. Upham was the orderly sergeant. Upham was an excellent scholar, and universally beloved by his classmates.

I am very truly yours,

* JOSIAH QUINCY.

The second letter is from Ralph Waldo Emerson, under date Dec. 6, 1875:—

I send you such facts as I suddenly recall of my old classmate, whom I believe all his college friends prized as I did. I was introduced to Charles Wentworth Upham at a little party of young people in Boston, in 1817. As he never entered the Latin School, I was surprised to meet him a little while afterwards at Cambridge, at the examination for admission, when we entered College together. In Boston, he had been the guest of his relative, Mr. Phineas Upham, a well-known merchant, who, at his own charge, undertook to send him to the University. Upham distinguished himself as a good scholar from the start. Robert Woodward Barnwell, of South Carolina, early proved himself our first scholar, Upham the second; and they kept the same relative rank through the four years. The two became excellent friends from their first meeting; and I remember that, on leaving College, after taking their degrees, they travelled together for many weeks in the British Provinces; and Barnwell thence went home to South Carolina, where he still lives, and has never revisited Massachusetts. Upham returned to Cambridge to study divinity. Long afterward, Upham and Barnwell met in Washington, when both were members of Congress, I believe, in the same year. Mr. Upham was always the chairman of our class committee, and always present at our annual meetings on Commencement Day, till we reached our fiftieth anniversary, when we voted to discontinue them. In College, his chum was Benjamin Tyler Reed, through all the four years,—a most happy arrangement for both; for Reed was the best-hearted man in College, never aspired to scholarship, but was proud of his chum, and delighted in defending him from all interruptions, and their mutual regard lasted through the lives of both.

Mr. Upham had a fine person, a rare social talent, and recommended himself by the facility of his conversation and his strong interest in personal history. His manners were frank and attractive, and his repertory of men and events large. The state of his health confined him in his later years to his home; but his rare visits were very dear, I can well remember, to his early friends.

With kind regards,

R. W. EMERSON.

Mr. Upham's mother died in her own home, in 1826; leaving, beside him, three daughters, who all continued to reside in the Provinces. Two of them still survive: Mrs. Sophia Livingston Winniett, widow of Alexander Winniett, who was a son of the high sheriff of Annapolis, and a brother of Sir William Winniett; and Mrs. Kathron Elizabeth Putnam Upham Pagan, widow of Judge George Pagan, of New Brunswick. Another sister, now deceased, Frances Chandler Upham, was the wife of the Honorable John Wesley Weldon, Judge

of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, whose son, Charles W. Weldon, is a prominent lawyer at St. John.

The most attractive course which the college at Cambridge offered at that time, for young men zealous for high culture, true scholarship, and for effective work in elevating the community, was the study of theology with a view to an entrance upon the Christian ministry. During the period of Mr. Upham's pupilage, and for a few years before and afterwards, it may almost be said that zeal and ambition warmed in that direction to a passion. Running the eye over the college catalogue, it appears that the names of more than seventy of the young men who were contemporaries of Upham, in one or more years of his course, are printed in *italics*; indicating that they were actually ordained as ministers, while many others pursued the preparatory studies without finally devoting themselves to the profession. It was in the main, and emphatically, in the interest of critical and exact scholarship engaged upon the Bible, upon theological works and subjects for the enlargement and liberalizing of the religious views of the immediate community, that this zeal was warmed and moved. It must be confessed that it was not one of those exciting periods associated with a pietistic fervor, nor one of those agitating periods incident to the surprises and sharp antagonisms of a reform. The admired and almost revered Buckminster, so young and so gifted, was the first of the graduates of Harvard at the opening of this century to cultivate for himself, and to inspire an emulation in others, for pursuing sacred learning with the help of the higher learning in the classics, and the critical apparatus for the more thorough study and more intelligent interpretation of the Scriptures. That accomplished and accurate Biblical scholar, Professor Andrews Norton, received the impulse in that direction from Buckminster, and communicated it to many others. The immediate community, at least, in which the new scholarship and form of thought and consequent belief found a grateful recognition and a fostering sympathy, was in a state to welcome and respond to the results, in the fresh influences brought to bear upon them in multiplied pamphlets and volumes, and from prominent pulpits. The old tone of reverence, traditional habits and usages, and a faith as yet undiminished in the supreme authority of the Scriptures as the vehicle of a divinely revealed religion, were the basis of the training of the young ministers of that time. But the animating spirit of their study and thought was found in the genial conviction, that the Scriptures, when interpreted with all the best

helps of the lexicon and grammar, and with due regard to the time and circumstances of their authorship, yielded a system of truths and doctrines more large and free and generous, more ennobling, attractive, and favorable to ends of edification, than the traditional creed of New England. It was under the prompting of this profound conviction that all of the young theological students at Cambridge, in those years, concentrated their studies and engaged their pens upon the authentication and exposition of portions of the contents of the Bible. The number of essays and books of this character produced by them, containing more exact and amended translations and comments helping towards the elucidation and more rational reading of the Bible, was sufficient to give distinction to a school, and to constitute a library. The style of ministration from the pulpit, which was the result of such training, was calm, sober, didactic, reverential, and as earnest in tone as was thought to consist with propriety and sincerity.

Mr. Upham, with all the vigor and animation of his strong scholarly tastes, and with the enthusiasm of his kindled zeal, felt all the best influences of his time, place, and surroundings, and he generously responded to them. He made his full contribution to the class of writings just referred to. The period, the influences, and the circumstances of his entrance into the ministry, were of peculiar interest, offering especial excitements and opportunities. It was, among the laity as well as among theological students, a period of quickening and transition in religious inquiries and speculations, — of controversy, indeed, but of a style and range of controversy into which entered some broader and more generous elements, making it something better than an embittered and profitless strife. Nor could his lot have been cast in a more congenial place for his life's work, with richer conditions for a happy home, pleasant surroundings, and strongly woven heart attachments, than in that which was appointed to him. As soon as he had completed his course of preparatory studies, and had made trial of his gifts as a candidate, he was invited to the associate pastorship of the First Church in Salem. There, on Dec. 8, 1824, he was ordained as the colleague of the widely known and eminent Dr. John Prince. This venerated and distinguished man, who would have been regarded as among the most honored of his time as a divine, had not his fame as a philosopher and a lover of pure science made him more generally known, can be named as next to Franklin in the list of our early lovers and servants of natural science. Only his rare modesty and utterly unselfish regards have left him com-

paratively forgotten by the present generation, as he himself failed to assert among his contemporaries any public recognition of his claims. His unpublished letters and papers, and his correspondence with men of science abroad, would even now furnish the evidence and illustrations of his right to a high place on the list of the most honored of practical philosophers. He cultivated many branches of experimental natural science. He made a signal improvement in the construction of the air-pump, — the instrument being still known as "the American air-pump," while its outline has been chosen to represent a constellation in the heavens. He made various improvements in philosophical instruments, the microscope, and the kaleidoscope, and a very ingenious stand for a telescope. Of the last he wrote, in a communication to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences: "I made the brass work myself, and finished it on my birthday, — eighty years old."

Mr. Upham always regarded it as one of the richest privileges of his ministry that he was brought into such close and confidential relations with so wise and good a man, whom he tenderly loved and revered. Dr. Prince lived twelve years after Mr. Upham was ordained as his colleague; and died in 1836, at the age of eighty-five, and after a pastorate of nearly fifty-eight years. Mr. Upham made an affectionate commemoration of him at his decease, and furnished a Memoir of him to the Collections of this Society, and also to the "American Journal of Science and Arts."*

Mr. Upham was married on March 29th, 1826, to Miss Ann Susan, daughter of the honored and learned Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., of Cambridge, to whom this Society is so largely indebted for valued services, and sister of our associate, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. Salem, from this period on to the close of his life, continued to be the residence of Mr. Upham, even under a great variety of professional and official labors which called him away from it. The place — then a town, now a city — may well be described as the centre of his affections. Among all the honored and eminent citizens (and they have been very many) who have been born and have lived in it, there has not been one who was so thoroughly informed in its history, who had made a closer study of its interesting sites and localities, or who more fondly loved and more justly appreciated the memories and services of the men

* Collections of Mass. Hist. Society, 3d Series, Vol. V. "American Journal of Science and Arts," Vol. XXXI. No. 2.

and women of former generations who were identified with it. He had a taste and genius for the lore and the investigations for which Salem offers such rich material. The simple truth, the uncolored facts of history, were good enough for him, in their burdens of romance, heroism, earnestness, and weight of importance. In his judgment, they did not need, and were none the more engaging or impressive when cunningly wrought in with the nightmare and distempered vapors of a morbid imagination. The place itself was to him invested with the lessons and the charms associated with the lives of seven generations of a peculiar class of men and women, who had subdued a wilderness, met all the rough and hazardous conditions of an exposed position, founded a State, secured through home discipline, school and church, all the safeguards of law, virtue, and piety; and then made it a centre for the world's commerce, and a nursery for producing soldiers, patriots, divines, scholars, philosophers, merchant princes, jurists, and statesmen.

So much, and even more, in the record of Mr. Upham's life must needs be said of the place where he lived more than half a century; because by far the larger part of his laborious studies, as well as his professional services, whether in the pulpit, the schools, the city, the State and national governments, had the most intimate connection with the history and the welfare of Salem. The meeting-house in which he first ministered, and which during his pastorate was replaced by another, occupied the same site on which had stood four previous structures reared successively for the increasing flock of worshippers, beginning with the first exiled band. The discourses which he preached and published on the dedication of the new house, and on the close of the second century of the history of the church, show with what a fond and reverential appreciation he had studied the times and the generations before him. It was with an intense delight that he shared in the gratification felt by many of his fellow-citizens, when the veritable frame and rafters of the first place of worship in Salem were a few years since discovered and identified in an obscure place to which they had been removed, and were set up again in exact renewal of form and materials. Beneath those rough-hewn oaken beams, cut when there was no saw-mill in the colony, with no ornament of carving, plaster, or paint, for beautifying the rude sanctuary, his predecessors, Roger Williams and Hugh Peters, had preached and prayed, and the honored Governor Winthrop, on a visit to Salem, had exercised his gift of exhortation. The records

in which he entered the incidents of his ministry were in the series of those in which a remarkable succession of men, as pastors preceding him, had made similar entries. Besides the founder of a State and the famous Regicide, of historic names just mentioned, Higginson, Barnard, and Prince were, for their virtues, talents, and faithful service, of high renown and esteem.

In the list of Mr. Upham's published writings, — not to mention those which he has left in manuscript, — it will be observed how largely the subjects of them are concerned with the annals of Salem and the biographies of those who lived in it. He could reproduce, in their order and situations, the old homesteads and bounds of farms of successive owners, and trace the steps by which the rocky headlands, with their borderings of forest, stream, and hill-tops, had been tamed into garden homes and scenes of busy thrift. The extensive, world-wide commercial enterprise of Salem in its most prosperous days, by its ship-owners and opulent merchants, put many of the citizens into correspondence with foreigners, gave them opportunities of travel, and brought to the town fresh supplies for valuable libraries and all the appliances of luxury. The East India Marine Museum, with its rich and curious gatherings of wonders of all kinds from the other hemisphere, and from all islands and oceans, is a most significant illustration of the wide roving of those who presented their trophies to form this collection. To investigate, verify, and present in an instructive and attractive form, the local history and the personal characters and achievements of the town and its inhabitants, was for the remainder of Mr. Upham's life his most loved work. There is a remarkable exercise of discrimination, of a sound judgment, and of a catholic spirit, in Mr. Upham's method and tone of writing about the original exiles in Salem and their immediate descendants. He had a rare skill in interpreting their characters by the circumstances which had formed them, by the times in which they lived, and the exigencies of their enterprise. What there was to be regretted or blamed in their rigid ways and severe courses he fairly recognized; but claimed for it palliation, and even respect, when truly dealt with.

While he was eminently faithful, during the score of years through which his professional relations extended, to all his duties in the pulpit and as a pastor, according to the exacting standard of the period, he was a most diligent student in his library. The ministers of the old New England churches, till within a recent period, have generally been the best-educated

and the best-informed persons resident in the respective towns. With very rare exceptions, all the local and general histories of the original settlements, and the biographies of the men and women of distinction or great worth, have come from their pens. Salem, at one period, was more rich in its collections of books and means of culture than was Boston. Drs. Prince and Bentley put all their seafaring parishioners into service to bring them literary pabulum from all continents and islands. Mr. Upham continued to pursue the line of professional studies on which he had entered at Cambridge, especially in the department of Scriptural exegesis and interpretation. He published, in 1828, a small volume entitled "Letters on the Logos"; in which he aimed to show that the real significance of the term translated "the Word" in the opening of the Gospel of St. John, and in other places in the New Testament, was not to be found, as some of his own school of theologians had maintained, in the Platonizing writings of the Alexandrians of a later period, but in the conceptions, the literature, and the forms of speech of the Jews in the time of the evangelist. In 1835, he published, as the fruit of much study and learning, an extended treatise as "A Discourse on Prophecy as an Evidence of Christianity." The argument of this treatise does not rest so much on the fulfilment of specific predictions of local events, as on the provisions within the Jewish religion and system for expansion and extension.

He was a very frequent contributor during his ministry, as through the remainder of his life, to various periodical works in literature, history, and theology; and also to the newspapers, on matters of local or public interest. His discourses at the dedication of the new house of worship of the First Church, in 1826, reprinted the next year, and that on the "Principles of Congregationalism," on the completion of its second century, in 1829, engaged alike his spirit of thorough research and his love for the characters and services of his revered predecessors and their associates. In a postscript to the latter publication, he makes a study and estimate of the character of Hugh Peters. In the same year, he published a discourse, which he delivered on the Sunday after the decease of the Hon. Timothy Pickering, with a notice of his life. His Memoir of his colleague has been already referred to. Discourses preached by him before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston, in 1832; on the Anniversary of the Association of the First Parish in Hingham, in 1832; a sermon on "The Glory of God," and a "Discussion

of the Scripture Doctrine of Regeneration," — also appeared in print. His "Lectures on Witchcraft, comprising a History of the Delusion in Salem, in 1692," appeared in two editions in 1831 and 1832. Of the subsequent revision of his examination of this melancholy theme, and of the remarkable work which he wrote and published near the close of his life, mention will be made in its place. In 1835, he wrote for Mr. Sparks's American Biography a "Life of Sir Henry Vane," once Governor of Massachusetts. The book is a charming production, alike for the diligent study of which it is the fruit, and for the enthusiasm of fond appreciation of its subject. The Massachusetts Board of Education authorized the republication of this Life in its school library. It was also so highly estimated in England as to lead to its being substantially reproduced in an English family cyclopedia, without a recognition of its real authorship, the name of an Englishman being substituted. Mr. Upham delivered the municipal oration at Salem, on July 4, 1842, and the oration before the New England Pilgrim Society in New York, Dec. 22, 1846; both of which were published, the latter in two editions. He published brief biographies of Colonel Timothy Pickering, of Edward Everett, and of John Quincy Adams in the "National Portrait Gallery," Vols. I. and IV., 1834 and 1839; an article on the British Navigation Act, in Hunt's "Merchants' Magazine," in 1841; a discourse on the National Fast on the death of President Harrison, in 1841; and an article on "The English Reformation," in the "Christian Examiner" for 1844. At the earnest solicitation of gentlemen acting in behalf of the Massachusetts Board of Education, he prepared a "Life of Washington" for school libraries. The plan and method of the work were to make Washington substantially his own biographer, in extracts from his own writings, in conformity with an intimation by himself that his biography might be so constructed. Of course, so far as this could be done, — as it could be only for some portions of his life, — the work would have the prime value of an autobiography, as Mr. John Bigelow has recently so successfully dealt with the "Life of Dr. Franklin." But the publishers of the copyrighted edition of "The Writings of Washington, edited by Jared Sparks," from which work the materials would have been largely taken, obtained an injunction from the court against the issue of Mr. Upham's two volumes. These were accordingly suppressed, and, as Mr. Upham for a period of more than ten years fully believed, the suppression was effectual. He had seen the work which he had prepared only

fragmentarily in print, as the proof-sheets had been sent to him for revision. But in all probability the stereotype plates for it, prepared here, were surreptitiously carried over to England; for the work, without a single alteration, omission, or addition, appeared in England, purporting to have been printed in London, at the office of the "National Illustrated Library, 227 Strand, 1852,"—two volumes duodecimo, pp. 443, 423. It had a large circulation; but the mystery of the transmission and of the agent in the matter was never cleared to the author.

Mr. Upham greatly enjoyed his professional position and duties, combined and varied as they were by a range of studies and of local and social relations which were helpful to his special vocations. He formed the closest friendships with his fellow-citizens, and was fondly faithful to the claims on him as a pastor. But he was afflicted with a severe and obstinate bronchial affection, against which he long struggled, hoping that he might recover his power of public speaking. Being disappointed in his hopes, he resigned his office, Dec. 8, 1844; thus completing a ministry of a score of years. He then became an occupant, for the remainder of his life, of a pew in the church whose pulpit he had served with eminent ability. It was not till after an interval of two or three years that he could venture again, with great caution, to use his voice in addressing any public meeting. But the tedium of partial invalidism was relieved by occupations and a diligent use of his books in his library. From March, 1845, to March, 1846, he was the editor of the "Christian Register," a weekly paper published in Boston. Though this paper was established and supported in the interest of Unitarianism, a cursory view of the leading editorials from his pen, as well as of his general management of it, shows that his aim in conducting it was by no means limited by any sectarian views or objects. The respect entertained for him in Salem, and his own varied capacities for some forms of public service in behalf of the common interests of the community, engaged him again in such service as soon as he had but partially recovered his vocal power. From August, 1851, to August, 1852, he was in the employ of the Board of Education in Massachusetts; his duty being to visit the schools in the State, and to address the people in public assemblies in their behalf, in furtherance of the best interests of education. This he did in more than a hundred towns. Being elected Mayor of the city of Salem in 1852, he reorganized its police system; introducing that which has ever since been in effective operation there. He

also secured from the Legislature the appropriations and provisions for the establishment of a State Normal School in that city, which continues to accomplish its high purpose.

Mr. Upham represented Salem in the Massachusetts Legislature in the years 1849, 1859, and 1860. He was a member of the State Senate in 1850, 1857, and 1858; being in each of the last two years chosen the presiding officer, by a unanimous vote. He was a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1853. In each and all of these places of influence and trust, Mr. Upham was chiefly engaged in efforts to advance the interests of education in the district and high schools, and in the endowment of the colleges. He also advised measures for the amendment and simplification of the terms of language in the statute law of the Commonwealth.

His principal publications during this period were the following: Speech in the Massachusetts House of Representatives on the Compromises of the Constitution, with the Ordinance of 1787, Feb. 20, 1849; Report of Committee on Reprinting the Tenth Report of the late Secretary of the Board of Education, 1849; Report of Committee of Education on the Custody and Preservation of Public Documents, 1849; Report of Committee on the Reimbursement of the Secretary, Horace Mann, 1849; Report of Committee on the Age of Children to be admitted to the Common Schools, 1849; Essex County Whig Address, 1849; Report in the Massachusetts Senate of a Committee on the National Monument at Washington, 1850; Remarks in the Senate on the Plurality Bill, 1850; Report of Committee on Education on Aid to New Salem Academy, Senate, 1850; Eulogy of Zachary Taylor, delivered in Salem, July 18, 1850, at the request of the city authorities; Report in the Senate of Committee on Education on the Visitation of Normal Schools, 1851; Address, as Mayor of Salem, on Organization of the City Government, 1852.

The qualities and abilities which Mr. Upham had exhibited in his city magistracy, and in both branches of the State Legislature, naturally prompted a desire on the part of his fellow-citizens and neighbors to avail themselves of his services in the National Congress. He was chosen to represent the Sixth District of the State in the Thirty-third Congress of the United States, 1853-1855. His term was at an anxious and stormy interval in our public affairs, — perhaps, however, not peculiarly so, as our whole national development has repeated such exciting periods with but rare intermissions. He had not been one of the original Abolition party, but was a

steadfast Whig, and both led and followed the main constituency of that party in its transition into the Free Soil and Republican organizations. His first effort in Congress was in the interest of securing a permanent and dignified administration and form of high service for the Smithsonian Institution, for the formation, security, and wise direction of which the nation is indebted chiefly to the persistent fidelity of John Quincy Adams. Mr. Upham was chairman of a select committee on the condition and management of the Institution, and to suggest the direction and improvement of its means of public utility. In his report he laid chief stress upon the feasibility and advantages of making it the basis of a national library, on a scale so extended, and with such selected materials, as would make it worthy of a nation of foremost rank and growing to a nobler development, and adapted as a means for the diffusion through this nation of comprehensive knowledge as one of the conditions of its strength and glory.

The special struggle in Congress during his term was that connected with the Kansas and Nebraska Bill. He made a vigorous speech on this exciting theme in the House of Representatives, on May 10, 1854. He directed a portion of it in debate to a reply to a member from South Carolina, who had said that the only practicable or desirable way for bringing to an issue the question which was distracting the nation was an armed conflict. To this heated utterance Mr. Upham responded: "The honorable member has intimated that perhaps it would be well to abandon the policy of compromises, and for the two great conflicting interests to meet face to face, and end the matter at once. I have suggested the reasons why, heretofore, I have contemplated such an issue with reluctance. But if the South say so, so let it be." The challenge and its acceptance were sad forebodings of the issue. In the same speech Mr. Upham predicted, as a sure consequence of abrogating the Missouri Compromise, the firm combination of the Free States in resistance to the further extension of Slavery, if not to its continued existence. "Heretofore," said he, "the South has profited by our divisions. Those divisions have arisen to a great degree from the restraining and embarrassing influence of a sense of obligation, on our part, to adhere to the engagements and stand up to the bargains made by the fathers, and renewed, as I have shown, by each succeeding generation. But let those engagements be violated, let those bargains be broken by the South, on the ground of unconstitutionality, or any other pretence, — from that hour the North becomes a unit and indi-

visible. From that hour 'Northern men with Southern principles' will disappear from the scene, and the race of *Dough Faces* be extinct for ever."

In another speech delivered in the House, Feb. 27, 1855, the topics discussed were "Mediation in the Eastern War," "The Institutions of Massachusetts," "The Ordinance of 1787." In vindicating Massachusetts from some attacks which had been made on her in debate, he said :—

"On a map of the American Union, the State occupies scarcely a discernible space. In territory it is one of the smallest of our States. There are but three smaller, — Connecticut, Delaware, and Rhode Island. But, sir, there are only three States that exceed it in free population, and but five that exceed it in their aggregate population, counting the whole number of slaves; and each of these five States is from five to nine times as large, and incomparably more fertile. The soil of Massachusetts is hard and cold, and yields only to patient and incessant labor. Her surface is, for the most part, rough, barren, and sandy. Her only natural exports, and they have but recently been converted into sources of wealth, are granite from her hills and promontories; marble from the Berkshire mountains, rising before our eyes in polished forms of architectural beauty in the wings of this Capitol; and the ice of her lakes, transported as a luxury to tropical regions all around the globe. But intelligent industry and agricultural science, taste, and enterprise are gradually spreading a garden over her surface. The traveller is amazed at the wealth, beauty, and animation of more than three hundred cities and towns included within her narrow boundaries. The stir of busy life pervades the scene like the sunshine; Nature catches the spirit of happy industry, and the brooks that leap and sparkle down the hills and through the valleys, at every step turn the wheels of factories, around which thriving villages gather. Scarcely a spot so secluded as not to be adorned with church spires and vocal with the merry voices of children wending their way to district schools. I look upon Massachusetts, Mr. Chairman, as one of the most remarkable instances of social and political development exhibited in *the whole range of history*; and, as such, well worthy of being held up to the contemplation of legislators and statesmen here and elsewhere."

Mr. Upham afterwards wrote, in connection with this warm praise of Massachusetts, the following reflections :—

"It is an interesting circumstance that a commission of a large number of the ablest statist and men of science, appointed by the Emperor of France to make a thorough examination of the progress of the arts and sciences throughout the world, and taking its point of view at the date of the delivery of the speech just referred to, that is, the year 1855, in a report made by its chairman, Baron Charles Dupin, gives to Massachusetts pre-eminence amongst all States and nations in the

height to which it has carried its achievements in industry, arts, and the general advancement of society."

On an incidental matter relating to his personal position as a son of a proscribed Loyalist, Mr. Upham gave an earnest expression of his feelings in the same speech; exhibiting a generous magnanimity, of which it would have been grateful if our country had offered more occasions for sincere utterance. He was to be succeeded in his place of representative by one who belonged to the "Know-Nothing" or Native American party, at the time when that organization was in notoriety. He, of course, belonged to the proscribed class. In the speech just quoted, he makes the following reference to the accident of his *foreign* birth:—

"Let not gentlemen say that it ill becomes me to stand up for Massachusetts, inasmuch as she has included me in a proscription that embraces several millions of our countrymen. No temporary phase of public sentiment; no popular excitement of the hour; no political prejudice, even if it express itself in a blow aimed at me personally,—can estrange my heart from the State where I have found a happy home during a life not now short, and in whose soil rest the ashes of my ancestors and of my children. I have ever found an enthusiastic satisfaction in illustrating her local annals. Her schools shed upon my grateful opening mind the lights of education, and my mature life has been devoted to her service to the extent of my ability. I have received at the hands of her people all the honors I ever dreamed of; and more, I most deeply feel, than I have deserved. The profoundest convictions of my soul require me to condemn, and, when the issue shall be distinctly made, in a proper spirit to resist, the policy that attempts to reduce one-sixth of her population to political subordination and inferiority. But no man has a claim to office; and no one, with the spirit of a freeman, can complain of the results of elections, so far as they affect him individually. I do not complain. On the contrary, I feel particularly prompted to pay homage to Massachusetts at this time. It is more agreeable to my self-respect to vindicate her name now than it would have been when within the reach of her favors."

The interest which Mr. Upham took in the subjects so warmly agitated when he was in Congress, and his mastery of the bearings and momentous character of the issues at stake, are shown in two articles which he contributed to the "North American Review," in October, 1854, on "The Reciprocity Treaty," and in January, 1855, on "Kansas and Nebraska."

In an address at the opening of the Republican Reading Room, in Salem, in April, 1856, he made a very lucid and intelligent exposition of "The Present State of Parties." Sharing in the enthusiasm felt at the time for the prowess

and enterprise of Mr. Fremont, the so-called "Pathfinder," and believing that his intrepid and vigorous zeal as an explorer was evidence of his capacity to serve his country in other departments requiring manliness and public spirit, he produced, in 1856, a substantial work of lively interest, entitled the "Life, Explorations, and Public Services of John Charles Fremont."

Resuming his place in the Massachusetts Senate in 1857, we find in print, during his term of service, a "Speech on the Bill for the Extension of the Credit of the Eastern Railroad Corporation," April 11, 1857, and "Speech on the Kansas Resolves," May 7, 1857. With that wonderful variety of office-holding which resulted from the desire of those who loved and respected him to make sure of his services in one or another place of public service, he is found again, as before mentioned, a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1859 and 1860. And again he manifests his interest in what he regarded as a paramount concern of the State. In a report of the Committee on Education, March 29, he deals with the school district system; and in another report of a joint standing committee, on the day following, he discusses the subject of academies endowed by the State.

In his several terms of service, in both branches of the State Legislature, Mr. Upham retained that esteem and confidence of his constituents which had moved them to give him his offices; and he secured the warm respect of his associates. As the presiding officer of the Senate, he was well informed as to the order of business and the rules of debate, dignified and urbane in his bearing and address, and considerate of all that concerned the rights, privileges, and high functions of that select legislative body. And, in alternating as a member of the Senate and the House of Representatives, he seemed to feel that a place in either of them was one of equal honor and opportunity to do good service to the State. His chief efforts, as has been seen, were given to the interests of public education in the various grades of the schools; in providing for them competent and accomplished teachers, improved books, methods, and apparatus, and in extending and strengthening their influence to ends conformed to the noble aims of the founders of the State, with the help of all the increased prosperity and intelligence of the later generations. Being indebted for the first frugal earnings of his laborious life to a slender compensation for teaching country schools in his winter vacations at college, he loved to renew and strengthen his

zeal in their behalf by some continuous relation to them through his whole career. His unstudied extemporaneous remarks when visiting the schools, as well as his carefully prepared addresses all over the State, gave evidence alike of his desire for, and of his rich abilities in, helping towards their elevation and improvement.

As a speaker in the chair of the Senate, or on the floor of the House, though Mr. Upham may not have exhibited the rarest gifts of oratorical grace or genius, he always held the attention and engaged the respect and full consideration of his colleagues. As a preacher for a score of years, he had acquired no pulpit mannerisms, either of dullness or of heat and exaggeration in utterance. He had a finely toned voice, he used precision of method in his plan and arguments, and fortified the position which he assumed by a fulness of knowledge, a candor of spirit, and an intent to insure conviction or persuasion by fair means for noble ends. In the frequent cases that have occurred in this especially, as in the other New England States, of an exchange of the pulpit for the legislative hall, the experiment has not always proved a success in the speech or the influence of the men who have tried it. But in Mr. Upham's case there was never any professional incongruity or infelicity apparent in his exchange of positions. The main assurance and condition of his being listened to with confidence in either place were fully enjoyed by him in having secured the sincere respect and affectionate regard of all who knew him as a religious teacher or a legislator. Purity of character, elevation of aim, high courtesy in intercourse, and a well-furnished, well-trained mind were his sufficient claims to consideration.

Fifteen years of life remained to Mr. Upham after he retired from his last public service in the Legislature, in 1860. Though enough of vigor of mind and body still were left with him for valuable literary task work, and for pleasant, social intercourse, he began to feel the need of caution in maintaining all his energies. It was a point of duty with him to be regular and constant in his attendance in the halls of the State House and in his work in the committee rooms. The exertion and exposure involved in a daily transit to and from the city had their effect upon him. He welcomed, therefore, the comparative retirement of his home. Gifts and legacies from warmly attached friends furnished him with ample means for his modest mode of life. His books, — those on his own shelves, the accumulations of his years of study, and the gatherings from the distribution of public documents, and

the stores of various libraries within his reach, — yielded the materials for his enjoyment and solace, as well as for the severer search for truth. The apartment in which he pursued his work had that comfortable home-like aspect and furnishing which adapted it for its purposes. The simple, unadorned shelves were filled to the ceiling with their well-arranged and serviceable volumes. Spare spaces on the walls admitted the portraits of children and friends as visible helps for memorials of those who had gone from earth. The writer of these pages, in transient visits, was always impressed by the order and tidiness of that plain library, wholly free from the usual clutter and confusion of a scholar's work-room. The writing-table had no heap or maze of papers, only showing the book or sheet of immediate use.

He prepared, among other manuscripts, for delivery before lyceums, a *Life of Roger Williams*, a *Life of Hugh Peters*, and a *Life of Sir George Downing*, — all three of those men of fame having personal associations with Salem. Another of his lectures was upon *History and Biography*. The Essex Institute, of which he was one of the founders, and in the management of which he was officially interested, was an object of his devoted love and labor. Its rich collections of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, portraits, and relics of the worthies of the generations of the olden time in Salem, and its valuable modern accretions, was a repository in the improvement of which he enjoyed many hours almost daily. Its meetings owed much to him for their interest, while they imparted to him through his associates high pleasure. His voice and pen were always devoted to fond tributes of such of those associates as preceded him in the way for all. The publications of the Institute are enriched by many of his contributions.

Mr. Upham was not so engrossed by these congenial occupations of the scholar as to intermit in any degree the friendly, social, and domestic intercourse incident to his former professional duties. On the contrary, he kept every link in the chain of affection, sympathy, and neighborly relation, strong and bright. Old friends and new ones found him at their doors and by their firesides, with his genial presence, kindly and judicious in speech and judgment, mature in wisdom, with an overflow of knowledge and stores of personal experience, a memory that never loosed its hold upon its vanished objects, and a radiant religious trust which heightened the sunlight of life.

Mention has already been made of the publication by Mr. Upham of a series of "*Lectures on Witchcraft*," in a small

volume, of which two editions appeared in 1831 and 1832. There were very many reasons of a general and a special character why his interest should have been intently centred upon this melancholy subject. He was living, as a distinguished representative citizen, in a town whose name and fame, though they might well have been committed to quite other and worthier historic and contemporaneous grounds for a world-wide recognition, were unfortunately shadowed by one of those popular misrepresentations, natural perhaps, but most unjust, which originate wrongs that hardly admit of redress. "Salem Witchcraft," "The Witch-Town," are epithets and phrases as misleading as they are familiar. Mr. Upham probably knew, before he became a resident of the town, not only that New England had no signal responsibility above Old England, and all other parts of Christendom at the time, in that stark delusion of "Witchcraft," but he may also have been aware that it was wholly from fortuitous circumstances that the temporary frenzy, caused by the outbreak of the delusion here, concentrated among a few scattered yeomen's homes in a village within the territorial bounds of Salem. But the interest, alike of curiosity and of local pride, felt by him in a place which was to be his cherished home for more than half a century, would soon engage one of his inquisitive mind and ardor in the investigation of historic truth in asking why and how it was that the old settlement, for a period the commercial emporium of New England, the birth-place and residence of so many eminent men, should be burdened with such reproach? Within the circuit of his daily walks were still standing dwellings whose innocent and beloved inmates, after suffering all the indignities and wretchedness of suspicion, accusation, and conviction of being in a dark complot with the Evil One, had been ruthlessly imprisoned, deprived of all human sympathy, executed on the gallows, and thrust for burial without religious rites into crevices of the rocks. The hill on which those executions took place, and where the remains of most of the victims were thus insulted, was near to Mr. Upham's residence, remaining then, as it does to-day, in its original state. His own church records contained grim entries of the ecclesiastical judgment following the sentences of the civil court against those victims. The lectures which Mr. Upham so early in his ministry prepared and published were highly appreciated by the public, and for more than thirty years after they were wholly out of print he was constantly and earnestly solicited to allow more editions of them. But he had become well satisfied that the treat-

ment which he had given in them of his sombre theme was wholly inadequate. Very much of his leisure, when he was free from public cares to give himself to literary and historical studies, was devoted, not merely to the investigation of the local details and incidents connected with the outburst of the frenzy in Salem, but to a most thorough and well-nigh exhaustive examination of the subject of Witchcraft in the annals of the world. He collected all the sources of information within his reach for the study of the subject, — theologically, philosophically, and in its historical development, — as it had been treated by divines, pontiffs, monarchs, legislators, civilians, physicians, and jurists, and while it cast its shadow at one time over all Christendom, had numbered its victims by hundreds of thousands. The saddest incident in the tragic rehearsal was that the wisest and best men of their ages and countries, who might have been looked to as lights and guides for the bewildered people, had given their testimony to the reality and enormity of the crime of Witchcraft.

Of course, Mr. Upham at once realized the mistake and injustice which had emphasized Salem for evil fame in responsibility for a prominent and almost exclusive agency in the tragic scenes of the year 1692. It was not because of any thing peculiar to that locality, as regarded its inhabitants or their opinions or experiences, that the frenzy of fanaticism and cruelty culminated there. In any town of either of the Colonies, the same instigating agencies at that time would have found the same material of credulity and delusion for exciting a local panic connected with a supposed onset of the Prince of Darkness. After Mr. Upham had thoroughly informed himself about his subject in its broadest relations, following it into all its dark and mysterious intricacies, he justly felt that it was in his power, and was consequently a matter of obligation to him, to write upon it in a way to meet the highest demands of truth, — in fidelity to history and in the treatment of a profoundly serious theme in its psychological and religious relations. The result of his researches and reflections appeared in a work in two substantial volumes, published in 1867, entitled "Salem Witchcraft; with an Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects." The author had in view two very distinct objects in the matter and method of this work. One was to deal with the subject of "Witchcraft" independently of any local relations or manifestations, as expressing one of the beliefs or superstitions that for long ages had had a universal prevalence, recognized in all the ecclesi-

astical and judicial processes of a common Christendom, and as a matter of a continuous historical development in all social communities, with periodical outbursts in various places. So far as the subject admitted of being treated by the help of the laws of cause and effect, he essayed what might serve as an explanation of the phenomena of Witchcraft. His second object was, so far as full truth and rational argument founded on facts would allow, to relieve the town of Salem of the especial reproach visited upon it as having fortuitously been the locality on the American continent where a world-wide delusion found temporarily an occasion and materials for an outbreak. It was in the investigations incident to realizing this latter object that Mr. Upham wrought out a volume, which the writer ventures to pronounce unique in its character and method, of most engaging and curious interest in its contents, and as exhibiting a genius in a mode of research and of narrative which would impart to all local history a life-like realism for instructing and absorbing a reader. It is because the writer of this Memoir puts such an estimate upon Mr. Upham's "Account of Salem Village" that he has allowed himself so extended a reference to the matter of one of Mr. Upham's most laborious studies. He set himself to trace out, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, the materials, conditions, experiences, and social, domestic, and religious relations of the inhabitants of a rural hamlet on their widely scattered farms and in their rude dwellings, which admitted or aided in the generating of the primary elements for an outbreak of the witchcraft mania. No village community on this continent, nor indeed on any other, has ever been the subject of such a keen and scrutinizing inquisition into the character, relations, and experiences of the people living in it while taming it from a dismal wilderness to civilization, as Mr. Upham concentrated upon Salem Village. A law of the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1647, had provided that all testimony which was to be brought forward in judicial proceedings, — in all cases whatever, petty or serious, — should be written down or dictated by the witnesses, and produced to be read before the courts. Files and masses of such papers have been preserved, relating to all the variances, disputes, embitterments, and controversies, the neighborly and domestic alienations and feuds, in our primitive communities, alike in civil and in religious matters. From the minute investigation of collections of such papers concerning the people and the annals of Salem Village, Mr. Upham derived the materials for an almost marvellous reproduction of the very persons and

families living there in 1692. He had traced the stern and grim surroundings and experiences of the first wilderness settlers in forests, thickets, and swamps, as they built their rude homes, opened their rough highways, set their watch upon Indian prowlers, and concerned themselves with the securities of law and gospel. All the earthly conditions of their lot had an element of gloom; and though their religion invigorated and nerved them, it threw around them other deep shadows. From the limitations of themes and helps to engage and expand the mind, from hard domestic struggles, from private grudges, from infelicities and misfortunes of personal experiences, from controversies and bickerings among neighbors, and from heart-burnings generated by religious teachers of ill-temper and weak judgment, were wrought out the conditions and agencies for producing and heightening any strong excitement, the nature and direction of which might be decided by the merest accident. The period, too, was one of special causes for depression and dismal forebodings for the people of the whole Colony, whose charter-rights and securities had just been prostrated, and whose apprehensions harried them with dread of anarchy, even though they should save themselves from the woes of French and Indian warfare.

How, in such a community of people, and under such conditions, a spark of mischief generated by the uncanny tricks of a group of children, and at once blown into a flame by the advice of minister, doctor, and magistrate, — who of course shared in a universal delusion, — blazed out into consequences grouped under the phrase "Salem Witchcraft," may be learned from Mr. Upham's volumes. The pages, though often so harrowing, have an absorbing spell, which even enthral and fascinates. The author was aided by his two thoroughly competent and industrious sons in his documentary investigations, and in the preparation of maps, diagrams, and illustrations for securing the verisimilitude of his work, than which there is no more creditable or instructive contribution to our New England history.

The writer of these pages, soon after the publication of the volumes, enjoyed the high privilege of visiting and inspecting, under the guidance of Mr. Upham and his filial coadjutors, the scenes and dwellings identified with the tragic history. It was on a beautiful day in autumn, with tempered, bracing air, and a rich, mellow radiance of the atmosphere resting with a calm peace over the ancient homes and the reposing fields of those who had suffered fearful tribulations. One of

these dwellings, the so-called Townsend Bishop House, was the home of that saintly woman, beloved and revered for all domestic and Christian virtues, — Rebecca Nourse, a conspicuous and submissive victim of the delusion. In the adjoining field reposed her poor relics, rescued by loving hands from a rocky crevice on "Witch-Hill." The house, built before there was a saw-mill in the Colony, showed its ancient beams, rafters, and planks, hewn out by axe and adze. Down the same old stone steps of the ancient cellar-way, and up under the forest-curved oaken timbers of the roof, the occupants were gathering in the two hundred and thirtieth successive harvest from the well-wrought acres of the farm. All the surroundings had their burdened memories; not wholly painful, for the purchase-cost of human woe and endurance having been paid, light and truth and wisdom, with grateful appreciation and sympathy, kept the gain. The kindly and thoughtful mien of the historian who had so faithfully and skilfully opened the sad story was the reconciling medium between the past and the present.

In an article which appeared in the "North American Review," in April, 1869, Mr. Upham was sharply challenged and criticised for the alleged injustice of his severe treatment of the Rev. Cotton Mather for his agency in the Witchcraft delusion, as a ready, restless, and zealous abettor of the superstitions from which it started, and of the distressing horrors in which it culminated. Mr. Upham replied to this criticism, reinforcing all his original statements and arguments in an extended and elaborate communication which he made to the "New York Historical Magazine," edited by Henry B. Dawson, September, 1869. This is not the place for examining the facts of the matter at issue. It is enough to say that Mr. Upham was too thorough in his researches, and too just and candid in his judgment, to misread, pervert, or color the materials for a judicial apprehension of the truth as concerning individuals or events in history. And of Cotton Mather it is to be remembered that at the time when the fervors of his imagination and zeal wrought so heatedly he had not reached his thirtieth year of life.

It was in the same year in which the volumes just referred to were published that Mr. Upham wrote and delivered his elaborate historical discourse at the re-dedication, — after reconstruction, — of the place of worship of the First Church in Salem, Dec. 8, 1867. On July 18 of the next year, 1868, he delivered before the Essex Institute a Memoir of his honored and public-spirited friend, Francis Peabody, which was

published. Mr. Upham took part in the course of lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute in this city, in the years 1868-69, by members of this Historical Society, on subjects relating to the early history of Massachusetts. His lecture, delivered Jan. 26, 1869, was on "The Records of Massachusetts under its First Charter." It has its place in the published volume. In the same year, on April 19, he read, at a meeting of the Essex Institute, a Memoir of his friend, Hon. Daniel P. King, Representative in Congress, which was published by the Institute Press. To the January number for 1873 of the "Universalist Quarterly," he contributed an article on "The Rise of the Republic of the United States."

During the first five years of his ministry in Salem, Mr. Upham numbered among the most honored of the members of his society and church, and among the most revered of his friends, the Hon. Timothy Pickering. This distinguished patriot died in Salem, in 1829, in his eighty-fourth year. He had enjoyed a calm old age, largely occupied with his farm, after all the varied public services, military and civil, of his crowded life. Mr. Upham had found one of his best prized satisfactions in intimate confidential converse with this eminent man, who retained the principles and characteristics of his old Puritan lineage, with a trace of its ruggedness, rather softened than wholly put aside by the mixture of the rough and the gentle elements of his own experience. In close intercourse with him, Mr. Upham learned much, not to be found in books, of the events and the men, the secret agencies and the partially understood complications of our Revolutionary age. The colonel found in his pastor an inquisitive and an attentive companion. They also discussed together the sanctions and doctrines of revelation, questions of Biblical interpretation, and matters of religious concern. On the death of Colonel Pickering, his father's chum in college, Mr. Upham, who had attended his last days by his bedside, paid him the cordial tribute of respect and love in the place where he had been a constant and devout worshipper.

The colonel, who had been most systematic in his habits of keeping a journal, in preserving letters from, and copies of his own to, his correspondents, as well as the enormous files of documents relating to his official career and duties in so many public departments, left behind him a vast collection of papers, carefully arranged and adapted for historical and biographical use. This valuable mass of manuscript is now committed to the Cabinet of our Historical Society. The last

surviving son of Colonel Pickering, the late Octavius Pickering, had undertaken, after the death of his elder brother, the late Hon. John Pickering, — the foremost scholar of his time among us, — to continue the biography of their father, which the elder brother had barely begun to prepare. Mr. Octavius Pickering had prepared and published a single volume of an intended series, in 1867. Just before his death, the next year, he had directed that the completion of the biography should be committed to Mr. Upham. Though Mr. Upham had about that time felt the first symptoms of a local malady which kept him much at home, impaired his bodily vigor, and finally caused his death, and might therefore reasonably feel a misgiving whether he should live to complete the task, he accepted it with gratitude. After spending more than three years of labor over the colonel's manuscripts, and consulting other sources of illustrative information over a wide field, he had the satisfaction of giving to the press the matter of three additional volumes, which were published in 1873, thus securing, in continuation of the single volume already in print, an adequate "Life of Timothy Pickering." True, the biographer had before him a noble and an elevated subject, with a rich mine of the most authentic and helpful materials for dealing with it. He could honor and revere the man whose course through life he was to trace through adventures, perils, stormy civil and political conflicts, and all the harsh and irritating controversies and alienations involved in high official trusts. But the exercise of a sound and discriminating judgment was also urgently requisite in the biographer. There were matters of delicacy, as regards persons and narratives, with which he had to deal. His entire confidence in the purity of purpose and the thorough patriotism of Colonel Pickering enabled him to treat all the acts, incidents, and measures of his personal and official career which at different periods drew upon him censure, and even obloquy, not in the spirit of advocacy or championship, but in the candid spirit of a narrator and editor of authentic papers. For instance, it was a matter of current notoriety that Colonel Pickering had disparaged Washington. Such basis as the rumor or allegation had in fact is put before the reader of the biography in a frank and interesting way, and all that was of unkindly or unjust interpretation or inference connected with the matter is effectually disposed of. The incidental themes falling within the line of his narrative in tracing the private and public career of Colonel Pickering, and to the rehearsal of which the biographer brings a vigorous and charm-

ing style, are such as the following: The treatment of the Tories in our Revolutionary struggle; the business of Colonel Pickering as agent in the adjudication on prizes; his intervals of occupation as a farmer; his perilous and romantic experiences in the Valley of Wyoming, as a pioneer settler; his advocacy in the adoption of the Constitution; his admirable advice and course as a commissioner among the Indians; his services as Postmaster-General; his position and influence in the first formation of parties in the new Republic; his services in the Cabinets of Washington and John Adams; his agency in the establishment of the West Point Military Academy; his correspondence, as Secretary of State, with foreign governments; his rupture with John Adams; his course as Senator and Representative in the National Congress; his views of the policy involved in the second war with Great Britain; and his interest in the promotion of agriculture in connection with the calm employment of his advanced years. Probably no more congenial work could have occupied the interval of retired leisure just preceding the disabling physical infirmities of the last three years of Mr. Upham's life, than that of re-reading the struggling and critical incidents attending the birth and early pupillage of our nation as illustrated in the career of one of its ablest, most conspicuous, and faithful patriots.

Mr. Upham maintained through his whole mature life a diligent and extensive correspondence with private friends and with men in office. He was genial, hearty, free, and confidential in his communications with those whom he esteemed and loved. He commented on the development of opinions and ideas, and he kept fully abreast of the most advanced thought, — at least in acquainting himself with it, — though by no means always with the result of accepting its theories or conclusions. Within the range and department of critical investigation and Biblical study which had so interested him in his original profession, the progress of speculation opened some bold questions which he was contented to leave where he found them. He had no weak timidity which would lead him to discourage or repress any natural restlessness as to the security of accepted foundations and sanctions of religious faith, or the confidence with which some avowed that they had discredited and repudiated these, having found better, or were waiting patiently for a substitute. He had so certified to himself and assimilated the essential verities for consecrating the responsibilities and duties of human life, for perfect reconciliation to the Divine

will, as it leads our way through mysteries and buffetings, and for a calm reliance upon the lessons and hopes of Christ's gospel, that he "kept the faith." It was his reliance and solace when seclusion and pain, by day and by night, cast him upon his own resources of patience and trust.

Among the friends and correspondents with whom for long years Mr. Upham maintained the most hearty and confidential intercourse was Edward Everett, who turned to him freely for sympathy, advice, and sometimes for helpful guidance on exigencies in his brilliant career. This correspondence is preserved, and doubtless on the appearance of the much desired Biography of Mr. Everett will be found of interest.

By a letter not received by Mr. Upham's family till after his decease,—indeed, it was not written till nearly a fortnight after that event had occurred, as it was dated June 27, 1875,—it appeared that he had been elected a Fellow of "the Royal Historical Society of London."

Fifteen children were born to Mr. Upham, only two of whom, William Phineas and Oliver Wendell Holmes, survive him; the others, for the most part, dying in very early infancy. The names of family or friendly endearment given in baptism to these deceased children indicate the affectionate purpose of the parents, as the following: Edward Chandler, John Ropes, Mary Wendell, Mary Wilder, Ann Holmes, George Murray, Stephen Higginson, and Francis Chandler, &c. Of the disappointments and griefs attendant upon the succession of such afflictions as darkened his household in these bereavements, the record kept in the hearts of those who bore them is sufficient.

It was on June 15, 1875,—two days preceding the general and enthusiastic Centennial Celebration in Boston and over a wide neighborhood,—that Mr. Upham's life came to a peaceful close. The event was duly recognized by the city authorities and among the friends of the departed, who had been so faithfully served in the varied career, and who so honored and respected the character of the divine, the statesman, the man of letters, and the citizen.

His funeral took place from the First Church, on Friday, June 18, and was attended by a large company of his friends. The Rev. E. S. Atwood, minister of the South Church in Salem, offered prayer. The Rev. J. T. Hewes, Mr. Upham's successor in the First Church, read selections from Scripture, and an address was delivered by the writer of this Memoir. The address is here given,—

ADDRESS.

In the midst of all the excitements and observances of our local centennial celebration, we are drawn, by the call of a fond respect and a deep affection, to these funeral rites. The sanctuary representing the first place for united worship of the earliest company of English exiles to the Bay of Massachusetts has within its walls, for the last time, the form of him, who, in the line of its honored ministers, served for a score of years in its pulpit and at its altar. And when inability of voice and health compelled him then to change the method of his public service, he found in faithful official trusts, municipal, state, and national, and in labors of eminent value with his pen, the tasks which occupied and improved his full round of years.

There is no shock of contrast, no incongruous relation, but, rather, a strange fitness and harmony, between the national events which we have been commemorating and these more private obsequies. For the friend whose funeral rites are engaging us took his place in life, in profession, character, and forms of high service, — as scholar, divine, magistrate, statesman, historian, and biographer, — with the best and foremost of those whose memories and achievements have been in our thoughts. So far as a single individual can, in himself, gather about him, personally, the same elements which give interest to a country, its history, its great events, its divines, scholars, merchants, and patriots, the tie of harmony is found here. Our honored and revered friend was even more a citizen of this country, because of the almost accidental fact that he was not born in it, but came after his boyhood in a bordering British Province, back to his paternal home, here to live and die. For more than one-half of the nation's century, his career, activity, associations, and employments have engaged him with the men and events which make up the nation's records.

How completely did he identify the labors and the delights of his life with this grand old historic town of Salem! Thoroughly versed in its history; attached to all its interesting and instructive associations with the elder days; skilled in tracing out its leading influence in the development of the infant colony, — as the home of many of its early governors, and of some of its ablest men and noblest women, the centre once of a world-wide commerce through its merchant princes

and seamen, the nursery of eminent patriots, statesmen, and lawyers,—he fed his mind upon its records, and then he loved to rewrite them, accurately, vividly, and with lucid comments, that children's children might know their fathers by their toils and their virtues. How fitly, too, did he take his place in the line of succession with that series of remarkable men, who have been, for two and a half centuries, the pastors of the First Church of the Massachusetts Colony! It seemed to me that, either in assuming their office, in acceding to their duties and responsibilities, or in making a study, with such charming rehearsals, of their characters and services as developed by the spirit and exigencies of their respective times, he had assimilated to himself the strong points, the antagonisms, and the attractions of the Christian virtues, as exhibited in them. To those who know any thing to the purpose of knowledge about our local history, what themes of romantic and instructive interest come up with the mention of the names of two of the earliest of those pastors, Roger Williams and Hugh Peters, and of the successive governors, Winthrop, Endicott, Sir Henry Vane, and Bradstreet. And then the two Higginsons, — father and son, — examples of the sweetest piety and of the most gracious virtues in their calling. And Barnard, too, in the crisis when patriotism required fidelity of spirit and the influence of a well-appreciated dignity and authority for the preaching and the prayers of anxious and troubled times. And then the calmly wise sage, with whom Mr. Upham began his ministry as a colleague, — one of the very first among us to carry his devout studies into the ways of God in the philosophy of nature, — the venerable Dr. John Prince. It was something to wait for in one's dying hour, something to look for in the unfoldings of the new life that leads up from mortality, to join in the fellowship of such who had gone before, to report to them the later harvestings from their own labors.

Having devoted twenty years of the vigor and enthusiasm of his manhood to the Christian ministry, on the basis and with the conditions attached to it as he entered upon life, of course the whole subsequent direction of his studies and interests was turned into a more or less professional channel. The ministry when he chose it, especially in the fellowship and community in which he was to exercise it, was then the most honored and envied of professions. Its expected service and work were of the highest order, requiring of all who would labor and be esteemed in it, sound scholarship, varied culture, graces of person, address, and character, and thorough

consistency of life. He met fully all those exactions. His needed task-work and routine of duty were congenial with his taste, and gratified his pure ambition. In his own pulpit and in those of his brethren, he was an instructive and impressive teacher, dispensing the fruits of matured study in didactic Christian lessons, toned with devout and reverent sanctions for faith and piety. He kept in regard the balanced and harmonized claims of intelligent, speculative inquiry, and of the recognized limitations of the intellect when dealing with things deep, august, and mysterious. His theological publications were maturely wrought from the best mines of learning then opened, and have still a substantial value.

The traditionary standard of duty and privilege for the ministry, as he took his place in the ranks, allowed, and indeed required, that one who was able and earnest in that professional work for the church should at his will or necessity transfer his service to what we call the State, — to civil responsibilities of office in the magistracy, the convention, the assembly, the senate, or even the nation's forum. No man that fails in fidelity in any one form of high service is apt to be fit for much success in any other. But a good, strong, and earnest man, if impeded by infirmity in his first preferred vocation, may transfer all that trained and distinguished him there to other methods of truth and righteousness, and do a manifold work of usefulness. Massachusetts did not initiate its ministers for an inviolate isolation as priests. It is congenital and inherent in the vitality and the traditionary pattern of this blessed old State, or Commonwealth, that those who are fitted to be its religious guides should, by force of the genius, talent, patience, and fidelity of that calling, be fitted also for secular counsel, for magistracy, for authority in educational interests, for patriotic influence, and for setting on record the histories and biographies which rescue from the tooth of time the men and events whose survival and rehearsal make so much of the living impulse of our own right aims and deeds. So it has always been with us here; and, when it is otherwise, our religious teachers will lose a large measure of their influence, and our noblest secular interests will degenerate into mere material and temporary objects.

Having left his pulpit because he had lost his voice, Mr. Upham had still thirty years of life for congenial work, and all of it useful for others. With what varied and fruitful industry, and to what permanent results, Mr. Upham wrought in all public affairs, and in choice labors of the pen, as overseer of your schools, as your chief magistrate, as the State

Senator of your district, as your Representative in the National Congress, as editor, historian, and biographer, — this is not the place nor the time for the full rehearsal. He loved most historical studies, and in them his excellence was the greatest. For them he had the aptitudes alike the most essential and the most rare, — a habit of thoroughness in research and the authentication of facts; impartiality of spirit; the constructive power of imagination in re-creating, re-clothing, and identifying the past, and that calm, though kindled tone of narrative, with judicious comment and illustration, the fruitage of years of wide reading and rigid mental discipline. His retrospective studies constructed the biographies of worthies who had lived in the vanished centuries. He gave the charm of a reverential, patriotic rehearsal, — illustrated by private and official virtue of the rugged fibre, — to the memorial of his father's classmate, in old age his own parishioner, Timothy Pickering; and the tender tribute of his fond companionship, to such as the high-minded statesman, King, the ingenious and enterprising merchant, Peabody, and the venerated and honored judge, White.

There is but one survivor now, and he in the retirement and repose of a most fruitful and honored life of like tenor with Mr. Upham's, — venerated and beloved in the scholar's home at Cambridge, — but one survivor of that group of kindred spirits in the profession of their youthful choice to which our friend belonged, — Sparks, Gilman, Everett, Palfrey. He followed in the line of his early Scriptural studies the standard and the guides recognized when he began them. Through his life he found no better: a Bible authenticated with a divine warrant; an Illumination helpful beyond reasoning; a sacred Teacher, sinless and loving, the only one on earth who, when he knelt in prayer, needed not to ask forgiveness of men or of God, the guide and saviour of our race; lessons, which, when truly opened to the intelligence of men, and reverently obeyed, would supplement and extend all the revealings of nature about the mysteries of life and death. When criticism and speculation, doubting, affirming, and denying, led on with venturesome confidence beyond these bounds, he ceased to follow. It was as when a river pilot, used to navigate by guides and landmarks, trees, hills, and the smoke from the chimneys of human homes, finds himself on the open seas, with fog-banks and icebergs, without soundings or aspects, swept by currents, and having no port but foundering, the companion of the albatross and of homeless birds who can sleep on the billows. If it comes to that, he

thought, as others do, that instead of teaching others, a man's full and vexing task is to try to learn for himself.

But in view of the last act and scene of life, as we gather about the remains of one whose earthly course is closed, it is not intellectual nor professional ability nor service that tones our feelings or our thoughts about the departed. It is the impress of character, the mien and spirit, the purpose and tenor, the impress and quality of the life, which, for long years, in private and in public, at home and among associates and contemporaries, has been maturing the judgment, silent or spoken, concerning him, and lettering the memorial of him whether on the stone or on the heart. I can speak here, among his fellow-citizens, only as a friend, as a younger associate in professional relations with him, and as one who, by the interchange of letters and the reading of his charming works, had every way love and respect for him. Of late years, as I have spent the weeks of summer near by, it has been one of my richest resources of improvement and pleasure to visit him in his calm retirement, waiting for life's decline. The elaborate biography of Colonel Pickering, so rich in its presentment of a career of singular nobleness, and so instructive in its delineation of the war epoch and the cradle days of our nation, was the work alike of the years of his failing bodily strength, and the ripening of his mental and moral powers. And with what a serene spirit, with what a patient consciousness of its process, with what a trustful belief that while it was change it was not extinguishment of being, did he note the decays of nature, and nestle in the solaces of his home. He sat surrounded by his loved books on their shelves, and knew that there was something as unexhausted and enduring in himself as in them. His pleasant retrospects transfigured themselves into cheering prospects.

And now, as for the last time, from this his pulpit, I look upon the contents of this casket, I see the refined beauty of his lineaments and features, as yet in their unwasted nobleness of dignity. The forehead and brow still show the measure and compass of the mind once tenantry and serving it. The kindly greeting of his open eye, and the gentle sweetness of his voice, and the chastened moderation of his speech on themes of high import, — these are now to be memories with you and with me.

The remains of the deceased were deposited in the Harmony Grove Cemetery.

As this sheet is passing through the press, occasion is found to add to it the mention of an event which occurred after this Memoir had been put in type. Mrs. Ann Susan Upham, the widow of Charles Wentworth Upham, after suffering from long protracted illness, died in Salem, on April 5, 1877, at the age of nearly seventy-three years. This excellent lady shared largely in the talents and brilliant powers of her family. A life-long friend of her own sex briefly expresses her appreciation of Mrs. Upham in these words, "She was of a truly feminine soul, a clear mind, a witty spirit."

Scarcity of Salt in the Revolutionary War.

Mr. SMITH communicated the following paper on the scarcity of salt in the Revolutionary War:—

Our fathers began the war of American Independence with a lack of almost every thing needed for the successful prosecution of a war. They had

"The unconquerable will,
And courage never to submit or yield."

But nearly all else was wanting. They had almost no trained officers, little money, few materials for furnishing an army, and were largely dependent on foreign sources of supply for many important manufactures. Pennsylvania and New Jersey collected even the leaden clock-weights and window-weights, in order that they might be run into bullets;* and in New York the church bells and brass door-knockers were removed to be cast into cannon.† At a meeting of the Society a few months ago, I communicated some notes on the means adopted to procure a supply of gunpowder;‡ and I desire now to communicate a few notes on the scarcity of salt at the beginning of the war.

The Southern Colonies were the first to encourage the manufacture of salt within their own limits; and even before the battle of Lexington Virginia took action on the subject. On the 27th of March, 1775, the Virginia Convention "Resolved unanimously: As salt is a daily and indispensable necessary of life, and the making of it amongst ourselves must be deemed a valuable acquisition, it is therefore recommended that the utmost endeavors be used to establish salt-works, and that proper encouragement be given to Mr. James Tait, who hath made proposals, and offered a scheme to the public, for so desirable a purpose." This vote seems to have had a satisfactory effect, so far as it went; but it was found necessary to offer still greater inducements

* Resolutions of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, May 9, 1776, and of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, July 16, 1776.

† Resolutions of the New York Committee of Safety, Sept. 5 and 7, 1776.

‡ Proceedings at Special Meeting, March 16, 1876, pp. 248 *et seq.*

to private enterprise, and also to establish public works. Accordingly, on the 1st of July, 1776, the Convention passed an ordinance for erecting ten salt-works at the public expense, the salt from which was to be sold "at the price of five shillings per bushel"; and, if a greater quantity should be made than was needed for the home consumption, the surplus was to be disposed of to the best advantage, and the proceeds paid into the public treasury. "But any sale so to be made to the inhabitants, or otherwise, shall be suspended until the next meeting of the Assembly, when report shall be made to the same, on the first day of their sitting, by the said managers, of the quantity of salt made at each respective salt-work, that a due proportion thereof may be allotted to the different counties; and, in the mean time, the said managers are authorized and required to cause the salt respectively made at the said salt-works to be removed to and stored in places of safety." Bounties were ordered to be paid to all persons who should produce, within six months, certain specified quantities of salt, "except Mr. James Tait, who hath already received sufficient encouragement." And in order "that all proper encouragement may be given to the speedy and effectual supplying the country with salt," it was further ordered "that a premium of £100 shall be paid by the publick to that manager who shall make the first two thousand bushels of good salt."

Maryland was not slow in following the example of Virginia; and, on the 14th of August, 1775, her Convention authorized the Council of Safety to "advance a sum not exceeding one thousand pounds, common money, for erecting and carrying on one or more salt-works in this Province." This offer does not appear to have been sufficient; and, on the 6th of July in the next year, the Convention took measures to promote the importation of salt, and resolved "that a bounty of one shilling, common money, be paid by the Council of Safety for every bushel of salt imported into this Colony, and delivered above Point Look-out before the first day of March next; and that the importer be allowed to sell the same at any price not exceeding 7s. 6d., common money, per bushel."

The Provincial Congress of North Carolina was the next to move; and on the 10th of September, 1775, it was ordered that a premium of seven hundred and fifty pounds should be given to any person "who shall erect and build proper works for manufacturing of common salt on the sea-shore, for the purpose of supplying this Province with that useful article," with proper proof that the works had been erected, and fifty tons of good merchantable ground or blown salt produced within eighteen months. Subsequently, July 25, 1776, the Council of Safety passed orders to permit the importation of salt, and to limit the price at which it should be sold. The first declares, in the preamble, that common salt is "an article essentially necessary and greatly wanted in this Colony," and then proceeds: "Resolved, That all known friends to the American independency will, on application to this Board, be permitted to export any kind of staves or heading, first entering into bond, with sufficient security, to import in return salt, arms, ammunition, and other warlike stores, to the full amount of the net proceeds of such

staves and heading." This was a relic of the old non-exportation and non-importation agreements; and on the same day the Council passed another vote designed to give greater effect to their legislation on the subject: "Whereas it is absolutely necessary to prevent, as far as possible, all kinds of forestalling and imposition on the inhabitants of this Colony in the article of common salt: Resolved, That for the future no retailer of salt shall be permitted to receive more than twenty-five per cent on the prime cost for any salt purchased in this Colony; and that the committees of the respective counties and towns see that this resolve be strictly observed, and send under guard to this Board every person who shall presume to take or receive a greater advance than is hereby allowed and permitted for salt purchased in this Colony, as aforesaid." The futility of this kind of legislation is abundantly proved by the frequent recurrence of similar orders and enactments in our Revolutionary period.

On the 28th of November, 1775, the Provincial Congress of South Carolina ordered a premium of three hundred pounds currency to be paid to the person who should erect the first salt-works in that Colony, on proof that one hundred bushels of good salt had been produced there; and a second premium of two hundred pounds, to the next person who should produce a similar quantity of good salt. In the following year, Sept. 27, 1776, the Assembly "Resolved, That if any salt-works shall hereafter be set up or established on any part of the sea-coast of this State, at the expense and risk of individuals, and the same shall be destroyed or damaged by any enemy of this State, this house will indemnify the sufferer or sufferers one-half of his or their loss or damage so sustained. Provided he or they shall not have sold any salt made at such works for more than twenty-five shillings per bushel."

The Continental Congress, on the 29th of December, 1775, passed a resolve discountenancing "the importation of any universally necessary commodity, and the exportation of our produce to purchase the same"; and therefore "earnestly recommended to the several assemblies or conventions immediately to promote, by sufficient publick encouragements, the making salt in their respective Colonies." But the supply proved insufficient, and, in direct opposition to their former vote, Congress, on the 17th of April, 1776, "Resolved, That the secret committee be empowered to import cargoes of salt on the Continental account, in such ships or vessels as they employ to carry outward cargoes, and are obliged to insure on their return."

In the following May, a committee of Congress recommended that the price of salt should be fixed at two-thirds of a dollar per bushel at the place of importation or manufacture, and that the cost of transportation should be added on salt sold elsewhere; and, further, that Congress should give a bounty of "one-third of a dollar per bushel upon all such salt as shall be imported into or manufactured within either of these Colonies within one year from the date hereof." These recommendations were not adopted; but on the following day Congress "Resolved, That it be recommended to the committees of observation

and inspection in the United Colonies, so to regulate the price of salt as to prevent unreasonable exactions on the part of the seller, having due regard to the difficulty and risk of importation: subject, however, to such regulations as have been, or shall hereafter be, made by the legislatures of the respective Colonies."

In Massachusetts also, there was "a great want of salt"; and in July, 1775, the Provincial Congress ordered that not more than one gill per week should be dealt out to each soldier. But it does not appear that there was any direct encouragement of the manufacture by the public. It is true, that in January, 1776, the Congress voted "that some methods be taken for encouraging the manufacture of salt," and a committee was appointed to consider the subject. Subsequently, numerous salt-works were set up at different points on the coast. Our associate, Mr. Babson, in his "History of Gloucester," mentions three in that town, under date of 1777, and considerable quantities were made on Cape Cod. It has been claimed that "the first salt produced in this country by solar evaporation" was made in Dennis, in 1776.*

On the 1st of March, 1776, the Provincial Congress of New Jersey resolved unanimously that a bounty of sixpence per bushel should be paid "for every bushel of good merchantable salt that shall be made in this Colony, at any time before the first day of November, 1776;" as "the making of common salt in this Colony," the preamble declares, "is a matter of the highest importance at this time." In the following August, the State Convention voted to lend to Dr. Samuel Bard "a sum of money not exceeding £500, for the term of two years, without interest, for the purpose of erecting salt-works within this State"; to receive salt manufactured by him, in payment of this loan, at the rate of one dollar per bushel; and, "if any of the works so to be raised shall be destroyed by the enemy," to sustain a loss of half of the money advanced, and further to exempt "the workmen actually employed in the said works, not exceeding ten, from military duty during the time which they shall be so employed."

At the beginning of March, 1776, the Provincial Congress of New York unanimously rejected a petition of John Pell "for leave to export some salt to New Jersey"; and the next day they passed a preamble and resolution that "this Congress, taking into consideration the inconveniences that may arise to the inhabitants of this Colony from the want of a sufficient supply of salt, and being informed that this necessary article is exported in great quantities from this Colony to the neighboring Colonies, which, if not prevented, may prove very prejudicial to this Colony, have therefore thought it highly expedient for the present to prohibit, and they do hereby prohibit, the exportation of salt from this Colony to any port or place out of the same, until the further order of this Congress or the Committee of Safety"; and effectual steps were to be taken to prevent any further exportation, and to punish any offender. A few days later, March 16, they voted to "lend to any person, for the term of two years from the date hereof,

* Freeman's History of Cape Cod, II. 695.

a sum not exceeding two hundred pounds, for the purpose of erecting works, without delay, for the making of salt out of sea-water in this Colony"; to give a premium of one hundred pounds to any person who should make the largest quantity, not less than twelve hundred bushels, of good merchantable salt in the Colony, before the 1st of December, and premiums of seventy-five pounds and fifty pounds, respectively, for the next smaller quantities; and that the Committee of Safety should, without delay, collect dissertations on the making of salt, and cause them to be printed and distributed among the inhabitants. In August, two loans of £500 each were authorized to be made to Dr. Samuel Bard and Captain William Goforth, who had furnished satisfactory evidence that they were "skilled in the process of extracting salt from sea-water."

In May, 1776, the Connecticut Assembly passed an act reciting that "whereas the article of salt is of very great importance and necessity for the use of the inhabitants of this Colony, and the obtaining the same in the usual way of importation is rendered difficult and uncertain, it is therefore judged necessary to encourage the manufacturing thereof in this Colony"; and, accordingly, a premium of one hundred pounds was ordered to be paid "to the person or persons that shall erect proper works and vats for the making and manufacturing common salt within this Colony, and shall actually make therein the first five hundred bushels of good merchantable salt"; and three other premiums of eighty pounds, sixty pounds, and forty pounds, respectively, were to be paid to the next three persons who should manufacture the same quantity before Oct. 1, 1777. In October, the Council of Safety passed a preamble and resolve, that "whereas the great cry and want of the necessary article of salt threatens to disturb the public peace and safety of the State, that it makes it absolutely necessary, in order to supply both the public and private necessities of the people, and that in the most private and speedy method: therefore, voted and resolved, That a suitable number of vessels be provided at the public expense to be sent under convoy, in order to get a supply of that article." And in the same month, the Assembly voted that, "whereas the article of salt is much wanted in this State, and notwithstanding the bounty ordered by this Assembly in May last to all those who should make five hundred bushels or more, yet is found inadequate properly to encourage the setting up said branch of business and making smaller quantities: Resolved, by this Assembly, That a bounty of one shilling per bushel, upon any less quantity than five hundred bushels, shall be paid out of the public treasury upon each bushel of good salt that shall be made in this State before the first day of November, 1777."

Numerous attempts were made to regulate the price and distribution of salt; and in August, 1776, the Pennsylvania Convention passed a series of resolutions, setting forth that it appeared, from due inquiry and information of the circumstances, that the salt then in Philadelphia had been imported at low prices, and under moderate insurance; but divers persons, "in contempt of the just and wholesome regula-

tions," had continued to "dispose of their salt at most exorbitant prices, to the great grievance and distress of their fellow-subjects of this State"; and the committee of Philadelphia were authorized to seize and take possession of "the salt belonging to such persons as have refused, or shall refuse, conformity to the regulations so established, or shall altogether withhold or refuse to sell their salt during the continuance of such regulations"; and the committee were "further directed to distribute the salt that may, as aforesaid, come into their possession, in equal quantities in the several counties, having regard to the reputed number of inhabitants contained in said counties." A year later, in August, 1777, John Adams wrote to his wife, from Philadelphia, that salt was twenty-seven dollars a bushel; and he added, "All the old women and young children are gone down to the Jersey shore to make salt. Salt-water is boiling all round the coast, and I hope it will increase. For it is nothing but heedlessness and shiftlessness that prevents us from making salt enough for a supply; but necessity will bring us to it."

Every exertion, in the mean time, failed to procure an adequate supply. In October, 1776, the commissary-general of the army wrote to the President of Congress: "As to salt and salted provisions, I have and shall immediately take effectual care. The only danger I apprehend is for want of salt." And he added: "I apprehend that all the salt in the country will fall very short of a sufficiency. I proposed that Congress should give me such orders as would indemnify me in sending abroad and bringing in, or encouraging persons to bring in, a sufficient quantity for Continental use, as might be necessary for salting provisions for the army; by which means I may be sparing of salt at first salting, and repack and pickle as I can get the salt in afterwards. A bare authority to purchase, I suppose, will not be sufficient for this purpose. I have already engaged proper persons from Philadelphia to New Hampshire, in every proper place in each State, to purchase up every bushel of salt to be had, and to prepare casks and take in salt, and cure pork and beef." The close of his letter is not less significant: "I must first know what salt I can be sure of, before I purchase provisions, and adapt my orders to the circumstances of the case. I really grudge every moment that is lost in this matter. I shall exert myself, and fear nothing but what I mention."

It is a curious circumstance noticed by Mr. Trumbull, and worthy of mention in connection with this inquiry, that the use of salt was unknown to the Algonkins; and that when Eliot made the Indian Bible, he could find no corresponding word by which to render it. Salt occurs throughout the version in its English form, both as noun and verb; just as we find untranslatable Hebrew words in our English Bible.* But salt was introduced with the first European settlers; and at the very beginning of the Massachusetts Colony Records, in the enumeration of what it was necessary to provide for sending to New

* Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at the Annual Meeting, Oct. 21, 1873.

England, we find "men skylfull in making of salt." One of the earliest orders before the transfer of the charter relates to this subject. At a meeting of the Governor and Company in March, 1628-29, the record recites: "Towching making of salt, it was conseaued flytt that commodetty should bee reserued for the generall stocks benefit; yeet wth this puiso, that aney planter or brother of the Comp^y should haue as much as he might aney way haue occasyon to make vsse of, at as cheape rate as themselues could make it; puided if the Comp^y bee not sufficiently puided for themselffs, then pticular men haue liberty to make for there owne expence & vsse any way, but not to transporte nor sell."

It has not been my purpose, in this communication, to trace the history of the manufacture through the Colonial period, nor to point out the sources from which a supply was derived before the Revolution; but simply to show how great was the scarcity of salt at the outbreak of hostilities, and how various and widespread were the efforts of the popular leaders to procure an adequate and regular supply. Their legislative enactments for this purpose were only less numerous than their resolves for encouraging the manufacture of gunpowder.

JANUARY MEETING, 1877.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the preceding meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors. He also read a letter from Mr. S. F. Haven, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, acknowledging the notice of this Society's vote to transfer to the library of that Society the Diary of the Rev. Mr. Hall, of Sutton; and saying that he should now place the volumes in the Antiquarian Society's library.

These volumes had already (24th July) been lent to Mr. Haven, and were in his keeping.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Professor William Stubbs, of Oxford, elected an Honorary Member.

The President read a letter from Colonel Joseph L. Chester, of London, in which he said he had discovered the long-sought-for record of the baptism of Major André. "He was born on the 2d of May, 1750, and baptized on the 16th of the same month, at the old French church in the parish of St. Martin Orgar, in the city of London, as Jean, son of Antoine and Marie Louise André."

In a later letter, Colonel Chester said that the Society, through his intervention, had been presented with a very sumptuous volume, by Peter Alfred Taylor, Esq., M.P.; being a recently printed history of his family, prepared at a great expense, and being also the only copy which will be sent to the United States. The book is in Mr. Chester's hands, subject to the order of the Society.

The President read a letter from the Hon. Hiland Hall, of North Bennington, Vt., dated 25 Dec., 1876, inquiring if the original instructions from General Burgoyne to Colonel Baum, issued just before the battle of Bennington, were in this Society's archives.

He read a letter from our associate Mr. R. B. Forbes, offering for the Society's Cabinet a model of the steamer "Midas," full rigged, in a case with glass front; being the first American steamer to pass the Cape of Good Hope.

The Society gratefully accepted this gift for its Cabinet.

John T. Morse, Jr., Esq., was elected a Resident Member.

The President announced the decease of a Corresponding Member, William Vincent Wells, author of the *Life of his ancestor, Samuel Adams*, who died in San Francisco, Cal., several weeks ago. Born in Boston and educated at our public schools, he lived a somewhat adventurous life. He is said to have been wrecked not less than four times while in the merchant service, and afterwards to have built and commanded the first steamboat on the coast of California. He was Consul-General at Honduras, and published a volume of "Explorations and Adventures in Honduras." He had owned and edited several newspapers in San Francisco. He was born Jan. 2, 1826, and was fifty years of age at his death.

Two volumes of Collections, consisting of "Belknap Papers," being Vols. II. and III. of the Fifth Series, were reported as ready for distribution.

A letter addressed to the Secretary by the city engineer of the city of Somerville, Mr. Charles D. Elliot, called attention to a recent order of the Board of Aldermen to reduce the grade of Central Hill, in Somerville; by doing which, the remains of fortifications thrown up at the period of the siege of Boston would be destroyed. He hoped the Historical Society would be led to remonstrate with the city government of Somerville against such demolition. No action was taken on the part of the Society.

The President reported that he had complied with the request of the Society, and had responded to the Rev. C. H. Brigham, of Ann Arbor; and he laid before the Society a

newspaper account of a meeting of the New England Society in that place on the 22d of December.

He read a letter from Isaac F. Shepherd, United States Consul in Swatow, China, presenting to the Society a lottery ticket in the "Mountain Road Lottery," signed by G^o Washington.

He also read some passages from the "Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson, LL.D., by E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., LL.D.," New York, 1876, and presented the volume to the Society.

The Society then proceeded to the subject specially assigned for this meeting; viz., the recommendations in the report of the committee relative to applying to the Legislature for an alteration in the Society's charter. The first recommendation of the report was unanimously adopted, as follows:—

Voted, That it is expedient (for the Society) to ask of the Legislature authority to hold property, exclusive of their Library, to the value of \$300,000.

The second recommendation was debated at length, and referred for further consideration to a special meeting to be called one week hence, the 18th instant, the Secretary to designate the object for which the meeting is called, in the notices issued.

SPECIAL MEETING, JANUARY 18, 1877.

A Special Meeting of the Society, called to consider the second recommendation of the committee in relation to applying to the Legislature,—viz., "That it is expedient to ask permission of the Legislature to remove all limitations, except such as the Society may fix by its by-laws, as to the number of its Resident Members,"—was held this day, January 18th, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President in the chair.

The proposition was debated at length, when, on motion of Mr. WHITMORE, the subject was, by a large majority, indefinitely postponed.

The third recommendation was disposed of in the same manner.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1877.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, 8th February, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Secretary read his records of the two preceding meetings.

The Librarian submitted his usual list of donors.

The Recording Secretary communicated a letter of acceptance from the Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D.D., of Brooklyn, N.Y., who had been elected an Honorary Member.

Dr. Storrs sent with his letter a copy of two historical addresses, delivered by himself, bound in one volume.

A letter was received from Mr. Stanton Blake, of Brookline, Mass., accompanied by a picture of the Battle of New Orleans, presented by him to the Cabinet of the Society. It was "drawn on the Field of Battle, and painted by H^{ms} Laclethe archt and assis' Engineer in the Louisiana Army, the year 1815." It was "gravé par P. L. Debucourt." The picture was purchased by Mr. Blake in Paris.

The acknowledgments of the Society were ordered for the gift.

The Hon. Horatio Seymour, of Utica, New York, was elected an Honorary Member.

The President read a letter from the Hon. Hiland Hall, of Vermont, acknowledging his letter conveying the information that the original instructions to Colonel Baum, referred to in Mr. Hall's former letter, were in the Cabinet of this Society.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN read the following sketch of the life of the Rev. Samuel Henley, D.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in William and Mary College, Virginia, 1770-1775:—

Rev. Samuel Henley, D.D.

During the quarter-century immediately preceding the War of the Revolution, there was a noticeable advent of able and highly educated men from Great Britain to the pulpits and colleges of America,—especially to those of the Middle and Southern Colonies. Whether they were drawn hither by some special sympathy with the political or religious opinions then dividing the public mind, or for the bettering of their own fortunes, may not, perhaps, be known with certainty; but of the immediate personal influence of these new-comers upon affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical, there can be no question; nor that they contributed efficiently to the formation of a race of statesmen fitted to

guide a revolution, and to lay the foundations of the government soon after to be established.

The names of these benefactors of the country will readily occur to those familiar with the literary and religious history of the times: such, for example, as William Smith and Francis Allison, of the University of Pennsylvania; Samuel Finley and John Witherspoon, of Nassau Hall; and Myles Cooper, of Columbia College; to say nothing of many others who were useful in less conspicuous situations.

Earlier than either of the institutions which have been mentioned, William and Mary College, in Virginia, from its earlier foundation, enjoyed a still larger share of the fruit of European scholarship, in the labor of such men as James Blair, its first president, a native of Scotland; the Dawsons, William and Thomas (the former from Oxford); and a long list of eminent scholars, reaching quite down to the breaking out of the war with the mother-country. One of the most remarkable of these men, and perhaps the most variously learned of them all, — though, from the brief period of his residence in America, less known than many others, — was the Rev. Samuel Henley, D.D., the subject of this sketch, Professor of Moral Philosophy from 1770 to 1775.*

Of Dr. Henley, John Nichols, in his "Illustrations of Literature," † says, "This eminently learned Orientalist was some time ‡ professor of

* Some years since, I came into possession of the greater portion of Dr. Henley's literary correspondence. It had formed a part of the famous collection of manuscripts made by Dawson Turner, which was dispersed soon after his death. Dr. Henley was in familiar correspondence with William Gilpin; Law, Bishop of Carlisle; Percy, Bishop of Dromore; Jacob Bryant; Michael Tyson; Stevens and Malone, the Shakspearean scholars; Dr. Michael Lort; Beckford, the author of "Vathek"; Dr. John Aiken; Mrs. Barbauld; Heyne; Capel Loft; Granville Sharp; William Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury; Richard Gough; Dean Milner; Dr. Parr; and many other similarly distinguished persons. This correspondence is rich in literary, antiquarian, and ecclesiastical materials, portions of which I intended to furnish for publication with this sketch; but, encountering an unexpected difficulty in the utter lack of Dr. Henley's writings in the libraries in this vicinity, — an examination of which is necessary for properly editing it, — I am obliged to postpone, for a time at least, the accomplishment of this purpose, and limit myself to those portions of his correspondence which more immediately respect his connection with William and Mary. Remote from the scene of his American residence, and from persons familiar with the traditions (if any such remain) of Dr. Henley, I can add but little to what is generally known of his life.

† Vol. iii. p. 759.

‡ 1770-1775. President Ewell, of Williams and Mary College, in a letter to Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, an extract from which he has kindly furnished me, says, "There is little to be learned of him [Dr. Henley] here. From the old Faculty Book, I find that he was present at a Faculty meeting on May 2, 1770. The recorded proceedings of that day contain a resolution to the effect, that Mr. Hanbury, the English agent of the Colony, pay him the expenses of his passage; or, more literally, that Mr. Hanbury charge to the college what was advanced for this purpose. The Rev. Mr. Gwatkin seems to have taken his seat in the Faculty at the same time. The Rev. Dr. Henley was brother of the great-grandfather of Dr. Leonard Henley, of Williamsburg."

The following correspondence and memoranda serve to throw some light upon Professor Henley's connection with William and Mary College: —

Moral Philosophy at the College of Williamsburg, in Virginia; and

Rev. James Madison to Professor Henley.

WILLIAMSBURG, VA., Aug. 6, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I have taken the first opportunity, since the restoration of peace between our respective countries, to inform you of the misfortune which has befallen the two boxes of books you left in the college. I assure you with truth that their ill fate gave me much uneasiness; and that every thing was done by me to secure them against the calamities and confusion to which this part of the country was particularly exposed during the war. The boxes in which they were packed were too large to be conveyed into the public library, as I found upon experiment. I then ordered them to be carried over to the President's house, in which I lived. But that house, with every thing it contained, was consumed by fire. My books, furniture, &c., shared an equal fate with your property.

There was, indeed, a few volumes of yours saved from the flames,—Tacitus complete, some of the volumes of Locke, and one or two other books.

Mr. Bracken, who promises to take charge of this, will, should you meet him, inform you more particularly; and I hope you will be persuaded (at least by him) that nothing was wanting on my part to secure your property here, or that the above accident is by no means imputable to any neglect of mine.

Fortunately, Mr. Jefferson had taken, previous to the fire, about £30 stg. worth of your books. By a law in this country, they were subject to confiscation. It appeared more prudent to part with a few than to expose the whole to certain loss. He will, I am persuaded, after having the books valued, transmit a bill according to their amount. It would be proper, perhaps, to address him upon the subject, informing him of your place of residence.

Your former friends in this place—except Mr. Everard, who is no more—are well. Mr. Wythe is professor of law; Dr. M'Clurg, of physic, &c. Our college, now dignified with the name of The University, begins to flourish, though it has been much injured by the war.

May I flatter myself that you will favor me with your correspondence. Nothing would be more agreeable to me, both on account of the esteem I have for you and the advantages I should derive from literary intelligence; for, after so long and total suspension of all intercourse with a country so highly respected for literary fame, your communications would be particularly interesting. We still look to England as the source from whence we may derive the greatest benefit; and, amongst the rest, that of knowledge cannot be estimated as the least.

If new light has been thrown upon the subject of natural philosophy, which I doubt not, and in which I am still engaged,—if upon morals, rhetoric, &c., in which I expect to be engaged, having exchanged the mathematical department for that professorship,—you will oblige me much by such information.

As Republicans, we are striving to render our country virtuous and happy. This, undoubtedly, is the first object of every good citizen. But we are sensible how much the sciences may contribute to that important end. Your love of mankind will, I am sure, dispose you to assist those laudable efforts; and I flatter myself I still possess so much of your regard as to induce you to believe that such assistance will be received with gratitude, by myself at least.

I did intend to have written to my friends, Messrs. Gwatkin and Miller; but doubt whether Mr. B.'s unexpected departure may not prevent me. I am happy to learn that yourself and Mr. G. have met with your deserved promotion. I beg to present to them my best respects and sincerest wishes for their happiness; and to assure you that I am, with the greatest esteem, dear sir,

Your friend and servant,

REV. MR. HENLEY.

J. MADISON.

If there be any thing in which you think I can serve you, I hope you will command me.

Address: For the Rev. Mr. S. Henley, favored by the Rev. Mr. Bracken.
Enclosed to: Rev. Mr. Samuel Henley, Harrow on the Hill, Middlesex.
Free,—D. P. Coke.

was afterwards one of the assistants of Harrow School; curate of

Thomas Jefferson to Rev. Samuel Henley.

PARIS, Mar. 3, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — An expectation of having the pleasure of seeing you myself in England has for a considerable time since my arrival in Europe prevented my writing to you. This expectation having rather lessened, I take the opportunity of sending you this by a gentleman who promises to inquire your residence, and to have it safely delivered.

After your departure from Virginia, Mr. Madison, being authorized by you either to dispose of your books generally, or to let me in particular have such as I wished to possess, submitted them to my examination. I selected those mentioned in the catalogue annexed, and he set the price on them. A British man-of-war being then in Hampton Road, I wrote you information of this transaction, and sent the letter¹ on board this vessel by a flag which happened to be going. Having never received any answer from you, I have doubted whether my letter got to your hands. I have not with me any voucher of his valuation; because, when I left my own house to attend Congress, I had no expectation of visiting Europe. Upon receiving their orders, I came directly from Annapolis without returning home; and my being able to furnish you with the list enclosed arises from the circumstance of my having with me the catalogue of my library. I am unable to say with certainty at what sum he valued them; but, in undertaking to answer your draft for twenty-seven guineas, I am sure, from memory alone, that I am near the mark. If this should not be exact, the difference will be small, and may be settled on my return to America. I would have wished, at the same time, to advertise you that, if the valuation should not be satisfactory, and you would prefer the books to the money, they should be delivered to your order. But the uncertainty of my return to America, the impossibility of having them searched out of my library by any other person, and the injury which some of them sustained in their transportation from Williamsburg to my house, give me to suppose you would not prefer this alternative. However, as you know best how far these circumstances might weigh with you, you will be pleased to decide either for the money or [the] books. If you should prefer the latter, I would wish to know it soon, that I may supply myself with the same while here. In either case, it gives me pleasure that this circumstance was the means of saving you so much from that general destruction which involved the residue of your books when Mr. Madison's house was burnt.² From Miss Digges I purchased Pelloutière's "History of the Celts," 2 vols. 12mo, belonging to Mr. Gwatkin. I shall be obliged to you to add their worth to your draft on me; and to permit me to make you the channel of its communication to Mr. Gwatkin, together with assurances of my esteem for him, and to accept of the same very cordially yourself. The events which separated us, depending on public and national opinions and conduct only, were not of a nature to insinuate themselves between individual connections, or to dissolve the bonds of private friendship. I shall be happy to hear that your course of life has been successful, and that you enjoy health and felicity. I have the honor to be, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

TH: JEFFERSON.

¹ There was an earlier letter of Jefferson to Henley, with a postscript by J. Madison, dated June 9, 1778, which, though once among the Henley papers, is not now to be found. It is doubtless that referred to by Mr. Jefferson.

² Mr. Jefferson's library was purchased by Congress. Were these books rescued from one fire to be finally consumed with the congressional library?

Northall, in Middlesex; and was elected F.S.A., in 1778. He

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| <p>Milton's Paradise Lost. Edition in ten books, small 4to.
 Pierce Plowman. 8vo.
 Observations on Modern Gardening. 8vo. (Patent binding.)
 Gibson's Saxon Chronicle. 4to.
 Junius. 2 vols., 12mo. (Patent binding.)
 Connection between Price of Provisions and Size of Farms. (Pamphlet.)
 History of Duelling. 12mo. (Unbound.)
 Ædes Walpoleanæ. 4to.
 Hoole's Tasso. 12mo.
 Dante. 3 vols., 12mo.
 The Hermit of Warkworth. (Pamphlet.)
 Œuvres de Théâtre de Diderot. 12mo.
 Il Petrarca. 16mo. (Red morocco.)
 Phillip's Poems. 12mo.
 Garth's Dispensary. 12mo.
 Hurd's Cowley. 2 vols., 12mo.
 Bourne's Poemata. 12mo.
 Clarke's Vegetius. 8vo.
 Calson's Specimens of Printing Types. (Pamphlet.)
 Port Royal Greek Grammar. 8vo.
 Port Royal Latin Grammar. 2 vols., 8vo.
 Dict. du vieux Langue de la Comte. 12 vols., 8vo.
 Dictionnaire des Monogrammes. 8vo.
 Webb on Poetry and Music.
 Moor's Essay on Tragedy.
 An Essay on Design in Gardening.
 Jennings on Medals.</p> | <p>Harris's Hermes. 8vo.
 — Three Treatises. 8vo.
 Warton's Observations on Spenser. 2 vols., 8vo.
 Essay on Shakspeare. 8vo.
 Jones's Poesces Asiaticas Comment. 8vo. (Unbound.)
 London Catalogue of Books. (Pamphlet.)
 Suidæ Lexicon. 3 vols., folio. (Injured.)
 Sailust, Foulis's. 12mo.
 Wotton's View of Hickes's Thesaurus. 4to.
 History of Barbadoes. 12mo.
 Taylor's Elements of Civil Law. 4to.
 Dictionnaire de Chymie. 2 vols., 12mo.
 Tournefort's Institutions. 2 vols., 4to.
 Dacosta's Mineralogy.
 Linnæ Flora Lapponica. 8vo.
 Critica Botanica. 8vo.
 Philosophia Botanica. 8vo.
 Fauna Suecica. 8vo.
 Genera Plantarum. 8vo.
 Species Plantarum. 2 vols., 8vo.
 Emanthesa Altera. 8vo.
 Systema Nature. 2 vols., 8vo.
 Clayton's Flora Virginica. 4to.
 Clarke on Saxon Coins. 4to.
 Folios, 3. 4tos, 9. 8vos, 28. 12mos, 18. 16mo, 1. Pamphlets, 4.</p> |
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Bishop¹ James Madison to Rev. Samuel Henley.

LONDON, Sept. 31 [sic], 1790.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will be surprised to find that I am still in London: it is, in truth, somewhat surprising to myself; for I expected nothing less. We have been waiting for a summons from the captain every day; but adverse winds, or something else, has prevented our departure. Could I have foreseen this delay, I would certainly have paid you a visit: now it is too late; for I shall, without doubt, go to Gravesend to-morrow or the next day. I consider myself as doubly unfortunate: first, in not meeting with you in London, and then in not knowing how long I should be detained here. Believe me, few circumstances would have added so much to my happiness, whilst in England, as the enjoyment of your society; and that I should have considered the distance as but of little moment, had I conceived my departure would have been thus protracted. May you long enjoy the paradise you possess; and, though I could not partake of it, yet I shall always receive no small additional share of happiness in hearing that yours continues unimpaired.

I have never heard of a single letter from you to any person in Virginia. I wrote you soon after the war was over, but received no answer. More probably my letter miscarried. I will certainly collect every thing of yours which can be found, and transmit them in the spring. Some few books of yours are in the library. I recollect Tacitus and Locke, though I suspect the sets are not entire. I will put the persons mentioned in your last in mind of the sums due. Poor Jones is gone to settle his account in another place, so that nothing is to be expected from him; but the rest will certainly pay what is due.

I should have been very glad to have seen what works you have published. I doubt not of their being ingenious and learned, and shall be greatly obliged to you for them. I have received every attention and much civility since I arrived, but have felt the want of a literary friend to point out the publications of merit. My acquaintance has been exclusive with the *literati* of the physical class; but the divines seem to think more of good livings than of good books. Our friend Miller lives very near me, and has been very kind. Adieu.

Yours most sincerely,
The Rev. Mr. HENLEY, Rendlesham, near Ipswich.

J. MADISON.

¹ Rev. James Madison was chosen bishop of Protestant Episcopal Church, and was consecrated in England, Sept. 19, 1790.

married, in 1780, a daughter of Thomas Figgins, Esq.* Chippenham, Wilts; in 1782, was presented to the Rectory of Rendlesham,

[Draft of a Document in the Handwriting of the Rev. Samuel Henley.]¹

A Specification of the Losses sustained by Samuel Henley, Clerk, Professor of Philosophy in William and Mary College, Virginia.

A collection of books, consisting of scarce and valuable editions (many on large paper, and in the best bindings) of the Greek and Roman classics, and the principal writers in the Italian, French, and English languages. Together with a large collection of engravings, etchings, and mezzotints, by the greatest masters; many of which were proofs, and the rest choice impressions. [Exclusive of private papers, a valuable picture, and a most beautiful original drawing of Sir Philip Sidney.]²

Cost upwards of	£	s.	d.
	350	0	0

and could not be replaced for a much greater sum.

A very good whisky and harness, together with furniture and saddle-horses	15	0	0
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Furniture of apartments, consisting of mahogany tables, chairs, bureaux, bookcases, desk, library table, bed, &c.	80	0	0
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440 ³	0	0
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To which the annual loss of the following articles: Salary for reading public lectures as Professor of Moral Philosophy, per an.	125	0	0
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From twelve pupils, according to the Statutes of the College, £1 ls. 0d. [Exclusive of the voluntary acknowledgments of parents.]	12	12	0
---	----	----	---

Entrance of pupils to the Professor, not less than six annually, at £1 ls. 0d. each	6	6	0
---	---	---	---

*Allowed for officiating in the college chapel, £10 currency	10	0	0
--	----	---	---

*Rent of apartments as rated by the College, £10 currency	10	0	0
---	----	---	---

Full commons, with other privileges, such as a right to entertain friends, keeping of horses, stabling, &c.	40	0	0
---	----	---	---

*A servant allowed by College, value	10	0	0
--	----	---	---

213	18	0
-----	----	---

[The amount of which for six years in addition to arrears due from the College makes the sum of	1,442	16	6
---	-------	----	---

[Exclusive of a year's salary due from the College and pupils	213	18	0
---	-----	----	---

1,656	14	6	
[Adding books, prints, furniture, &c.	510	0	0

2,166	14	6
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[Difference between currency and sterling in the items marked with an asterisk	57	2	6
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Left Virginia May 24, 1775.	2,109	12	0
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* Dr. Henley had one son, known to be living in 1798; but he died before his father. He was born probably in 1777; and, unless Nichols is in error regarding the date in the text, he must refer to a second marriage; for Jacob Bryant, author of the "Analysis of Ancient Mythology," &c., in a letter to Dr. Henley, then at Harrow, under date of Nov. 24, 1777, says, "If it is your real desire that I should be sponsor to your little boy, you may nominate me accordingly: only I would wish that the child may not hereafter think ill of me for being through me denominated from so antiquated a patriarch. I hope Mrs. Henley is," &c.

¹ Mr. Willmot and Mr. Coke beg the favor of Mr. Henley's attendance at Whitehall on Saturday next. American Refugee Office, June 5, 1783.

² Pen drawn through words and figures in [] which follow.

³ [Sic.]

in Suffolk; and, in 1805, he was appointed by the East India Company president of their then newly established college at Hertford. This situation he resigned in 1815, and died on the 29th of December of the same year.*

To a copy of the foregoing notice of Dr. Henley, from Nichols's "Illustrations," Dawson Turner has added the following: "Dr Henley was much acquainted with my uncle, Rev. Rd. Turner, and with my friend, Rev. J. G. Spurgeon; the latter long a resident of Medford, the former, Rector of Swoffin,—both parishes near Rendlesham, his own living." "By my uncle I was introduced to Dr. Henley in or about 1804; and, during that and the following year, a few letters passed between us. He was then residing in Howland Street, London, where Mr. Turner and I once breakfasted with him, and a most agreeable morning was spent; for it was impossible for any man to be more amusing and instructive in conversation, or of greater amenity of manner, than Dr. Henley. I was then studying Hebrew, on which point he gave me several useful hints; and, seeing I was fond of books, he said to me, 'Let me offer you, as a young man, a piece of advice: Never buy a bad book; never buy a bad edition of a good book; and never buy a bad copy of a good edition.' His own library, as far as I recollect, was small, but corresponded to his recommendation. Our acquaintance was not long: for he shortly afterwards asked me to discount some bills, which I was forced to decline, having been told he was a needy man, and knowing I had no money of my own to advance, and feeling I had no right to apply what was in my hands as a broker to any personal object; and the natural consequences ensued. In person, Dr. Henley was short and rather stout; his physiognomy, like his deportment, was peculiarly agreeable.* All about him impressed you with the idea of a negligent man; and such I believe he was. In the literary world, few of his day excited more expectation, or more disappointed. His being placed at Hertford, I am told, was singularly unfortunate; so incompetent was he to the management of the discipline of a college."†

* I have a mezzotint said to be a portrait of Dr. Henley, which is quite in accordance with Mr. Turner's description.

† Manuscript note of Dawson Turner, prefixed to the volume of Dr. Henley's correspondence, dated Feb. 22, 1841. Mr. Turner has given, in the same note, an account of the manner in which he became possessed of that correspondence: "What became of the papers left by Dr. Henley, or, indeed, what he did leave, I never could learn. The following letters were in the hands of his attorney, Mr. Wenn, of Ipswich, on whose death I bought them of his widow. She had another bundle of about the same size, but of far more value, consisting wholly of letters from Mr. Beckford [author of 'Vathek']. These she sold to that gentleman for £25, before she communicated with me. Neither could I ever learn the history of Dr. Henley's connection with him. Mr. Nichols is silent respecting it in his Memoir, nor do I find any allusion to it in the correspondence; and yet it must have been very close indeed." Dawson Turner, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., &c., the writer of the foregoing memorandum, was a banker, antiquary, and botanist. He published "Account of a Tour in Normandy," 1820; "Natural History of Fuci," 1808-18; and died 20th June, 1858. His manuscript library was probably the most valuable ever in private hands;

Dr. Henley's writings and publications in various periodicals, or as tracts, must have been far more numerous than Nichols seems to have supposed, if he intended to give a full list of them in the Memoir already referred to. In the correspondence with Dr. Henley, there is frequent allusion to his writings on a great variety of subjects; but, as there is no mention of particular titles, I have not the means of adding to Nichols's enumeration, which is as follows:—

"Dr. Henley published three sermons preached in America: First, at Williamsburg, May 1, 1771, for the 'Benefit of a Fund to support the Poor Widows and Orphans of Clergymen in Virginia,' 8vo. Second, 'The Distinct Claims of Government and Religion considered: before the Honorable House of Burgesses, at Williamsburg, Mar. 1, 1772,' 8vo. [* 'A Candid Refutation of the Heresy imputed by R. C. Nicholas to the Rev. Dr. Henley; Williamsburg: printed for B. White, London, 1774, 8vo.] Third, in 1776,† on the 'Foundation of the College,' 8vo." ‡

comprising, besides other things, upwards of forty thousand autograph letters. The descriptive catalogue fills three hundred and eight octavo pages; and the sale, which began June 6, 1859, occupied five days. The proceeds amounted to £8,740.

* Title communicated by Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby.

† As Dr. Henley left Virginia May 24, 1775, there would seem to be some mistake in this date,—possibly by it the date of publication is intended. I have been unable to find these sermons, and cannot verify Nichols's account of them.

‡ The following letters from Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, and Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, all of which were addressed to Dr. Henley, and some of them when he was in Virginia, seem to me worthy of publication:—

Bishop of Carlisle to Rev. Mr. Henley.

DEAR SIR,—I am truly ashamed of having so long neglected to acknowledge your kind favor, which gave so agreeable an account of your country, clime, and ecclesiastical state, with every other circumstance attending your new situation. It is now almost too late to make any kind of apology; but being tossed about ever since, and not knowing how to convey a letter to you, I was tempted to lay yours by, till your last present of a very ingenious discourse reminded me of looking for your former favor, and sending some random reply. You are happy in having got clear of some subscriptions which we are still laboring under, as you may see from our newspapers, which have long been full of the controversy; and where it will end is yet uncertain, though, from the general disposition of our clergy, the case seems desperate at present. It has been twice moved in this place, but stopped in the Caput, and is like to meet the same fate in the House of Commons, if it be not postponed by agreement. Should it get forward, I may probably prepare and transmit a few thoughts upon the subject; and, at the same time, shall hope for some hint of the grounds you go upon in your late opposition to the scheme of sending some bishops into your colonies, under certain qualifications, for confirmations and ordination of ministers in a more commodious manner than by obliging them to come over hither for that end,—an inconvenience peculiar to them, and which the late Dr. Chandler used to say he wondered we had not removed long ago, and to which he should never make any opposition. It is hoped the true liberal spirit of christianity will so far prevail on both sides of the water as to produce a temper fitted for the promotion of all schemes truly beneficial to the common cause; which subject I am shortly to touch upon before the Society for Propagating of the Gospel, and shall be further obliged to you for any observations that

"He published also a 'Dissertation on the Controverted Passages in St. Peter and St. Jude, concerning the Angels who sinned, and who kept not their First Estate, 1778,' 8vo. In 1779, he was the editor of 'Travels in the Two Sicilies,' by Hy. Swinburne, Esq.; and, in 1786, of

may occur relative to the means more immediately requisite to that end, and to the principal causes that may seem to obstruct it, somewhat more particularly than was hinted in your last. Last summer a piece was published with the title of "An Examination of the Ecclesiastical Constitution of Scotland," which is like to make as much noise there as the Confess. has done with us, and is wrote with equal spirit. Our old friend, Mr. Hughes, sends his respects. That satisfaction and success may attend all your labors is the hearty wish of

Your affectionate brother,

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 25, 1771.

E. CARLISLE.

Address: To the Rev. Mr. Henley, at Wm. and Mary College, Virginia.

Indorsed: Answered Aug. 20, 1774.

Bishop of Carlisle to Rev. Mr. Henley.

DEAR SIR,—I am favored with yours of August 20, together with three pamphlets, for which I heartily thank you; and to my shame must own that I believe your second letter, with Mr. Gwatkin's piece, came to hand, which ought to have been acknowledged immediately, but by some accident were soon either lost or mislaid, and cannot yet be recovered. Mr. Jebb promises to transmit this, with my sermon on the "Propagation of the Gospel," and the last edition of Considerations, which produced a warm answer from Oxford and a spirited defence, last spring, where the cause seems to rest, without any prospect of alteration in the mode of subscription in our day. These same Considerations, you may easily imagine, have extinguished all interest of mine at Lambeth; but, if there should be the least opportunity of furthering your application for the degree there, I shall not fail of laying hold of it, being truly concerned at your hard treatment, and very sorry that the illiberal, persecuting spirit has reached so far as your country, and been attended with such mischievous effects. Having now done, as I hope, with controversy, I was not a little startled at finding my own case produced among those of some others who suffered under A. B. Secker, whose opposition, though I had evidence of its having been much more extensive than is set forth in the *free examination*, yet, as he himself thought proper to deny it, I was willing to let the matter drop, and, by not disturbing the ashes of the dead, secure peace with the living during the short remaining time of my continuance among them. Mr. Peckard also tells me that he has been prevailed upon to the suppression of his Narrative. We expect nothing material to be done in American affairs till after Christmas, when I sincerely wish some healing measures may be hit upon, though things look but badly at present. Dr. Hird [*sic*] is made a Bishop by Lord Mansfield's interest, and therefore less likely to have any connection with the Feathers. Bishop Warburton's memory has failed for some time. Jebb has been long laboring to improve our University, but meets with a repulse in every motion. Our friend Hughes [*is*] tolerably well in health, but despairing of all speedy reformation. That you may shortly see an end of all your troubles and retrieve your late heavy disappointment is the hearty prayer of, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother, and very faithful servant,

E. CARLISLE.

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 13, '74.

On second thoughts, I apprehend that your letter never reached me, but only the pamphlet on American Bishops, which I communicated to the Bishop of London, but heard no more of that subject.

Address: To the Rev. Mr. Henley, William and Mary College, Virginia.

the 'History of the Caliph Vathek, from an Unpublished MS., with Notes, Critical and Explanatory.' The notes here mentioned were by

Bishop of Carlisle to Rev. Mr. Henley.

DEAR SIR, — I received your favor by this day's post, and am obliged to you for your ingenious discourse; but, as the publishers of the new edition of Locke's works are already begun with them, I think it will not be worth while to retard their edition by any collation of the more minute errata noted in my copy, though they are pretty numerous on the whole; and have only time at present to look out one in the Essay, which disturbs the sense extremely, which I think I once showed you, and which is transcribed in the next leaf. I heartily wish you success in all your labors for the public service, and am, with true regard, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother,

PET. H., Dec. 24, '75.

E. CARLISLE.

Locke's Essay, B. 3, C. 3, § 18, C. 11.

After *fixedness*, &c., add, "which are to be found in it, which constitution we know not, and, so having no particular *idea* of, have no name that is the sign of it. But yet it is its color, weight, fusibility, *fixedness*, &c." See the second edition.

P. S. On second thoughts, since Locke's works are published so inaccurately, if the booksellers choose to have my copy by them, in their new edition, though I have not time to revise it, it shall be at their service on more particular directions from you, and intimation when the said edition may probably be completed, and how far it is gone on already. The half sheet called *An Analysis of Mr. L.'s Doctrine of Ideas* may likewise be prefixed to his Essay, if they choose it.

Addressed: To the Rev. Mr. Henley, at Mr. Cadell's, Bookseller, in the Strand, London.

Free, E. Carlisle.

Bishop Percy to Rev. Mr. Henley.

NORTHUMBERLAND HOUSE, LONDON, Feb. 1, 1775.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, — I cannot delay a moment expressing my acknowledgments for the very obliging favor of your letter, accompanied with such valuable presents as your three Dissertations, and Curious Specimens of Indian Eloquence.

I am exceedingly flattered that my slight publication, entitled *The Key to the New Testament*, has obtained the approbation of so excellent a judge as you approve yourself to be by your three ingenious and learned Essays; and shall most gladly avail myself of your very kind permission to enrich a future edition of my book with such valuable additions. As our second edition was but lately printed, and is not of very quick sale, I do not expect that we shall have a third edition called for before 1778 or 1779. Then the present proprietor's copyright will expire, and the property to revert to myself. At that time I intend to give the book a revision, and to republish it with improvements, of which none will be so great as what it will derive from your curious Essays. In the mean time, dear sir, I hope you will continue to favor me with your correspondence, so agreeably begun; and (though I hope it will not be confined to my small manual) I shall be truly thankful [for] any other remarks, observations, or corrections which may tend to make it as perfect as possible.

Your specimen of Indian oratory is a masterpiece in its kind, and has been exceedingly admired by all who have seen it. It is the eloquence of *sentiment*, and penetrates through the soul, — infinitely more forcible than the eloquence of language. Should any other pieces of Indian composition, whether of rhetoric or song, fall in your way, you would confer a very great obligation upon me, by favoring me with translations of them.

Dr. Henley, who had also translated the work (a truly singular one), from the French, in which it was originally written by William Beckford, Esq., of Fonthill."*

I have the pleasure to find that many of my friends are yours. I had one of them spend the evening with me last night, — Mr. Lettice, formerly resident at Sidney College, and still fellow. After having spent some years with our envoy at Copenhagen, he is at present most agreeably fixed in the family of Mrs. Beckford, as tutor to her son, — a very promising youth, heir to the famous Alderman, the friend of Lord Chatham. I think his present salary is £300 per annum, besides large future prospects. She desires her particular respects may be presented to you. Mr. Martyn, Botany Professor at Cambridge, is lately married to the master of Sidney's sister, and is well and happy.

With regard to our politics, I am of opinion that you will find the measures of government firm and vigorous. The new Parliament seems disposed to assert their right of governing the Colonies with great spirit.

I shall always be happy to hear from you; and shall be glad to be favored, at your leisure, with the state of your College: its plan of studies, endowments, number of professors, students, &c. And, if at any time I can perform any commands for you in England, I beg you will apply to me without scruple; being very sincerely, dear sir,

Your much obliged and faithful servant,

THOMAS PERCY.

Address: To the Rev. Mr. Henley, Professor of Moral Philosophy in William and Mary College, in Virginia.

Post marks: 1-7. Pd. 1s. Post paid. N. York, April 1.

Indorsed: Rec'd April 20, 1775.

* As will be seen in a previous note, Beckford purchased, at a large price, the letters he had written to Dr. Henley. Dawson Turner states that he had been unable to learn the history of their connection, and yet that it must have been very intimate. Does he mean to hint that Dr. Henley had any hand in writing "Vathek," and that Beckford was desirous of suppressing all evidence of that fact? When Beckford made his purchase, the following letter appears to have been overlooked:—

William Beckford to Rev. Mr. Henley.

If you are in the land of the living, which I should almost doubt by my not having heard from you since the fourth June, learn that a violent fever drove me out from the Castle of Atlant. This formidable personage withered my strength by a look, and soon arrested the nimbleness with which I shot up and down the galleries and innumerable flights of stairs in the enchanted edifice. She shook me four days running by the hair. Out flew Miss K., and all other misses, whims, and caprices; so that at present I am as perfectly a sober personage as, to do you justice, you professed I should be. But I feel quite weak, and gasping like a fish just drawn from its cool element and thrown on a sunny bank, my wild pursuit being totally at an end. Thank God! I long after nothing but you, my real friends, my books, and the brown bread of England. I hope to break it in peace this very Christmas that is approaching. The moment I gain sufficient strength, I set my face homewards. Be friendly, and contrive to spend your December with me. Have the goodness to get all my books bound, including those Elmsley purchased. You know there are a few, — Coriat, Smith, if I recollect, and some with arms, that only want *smarting* up; *Melun*, in Russia; and the Chinese Idols, in rich, maroon silk, gilt and emblazoned as fine as you please. My hand shakes like that of the gluttonous Idol, Ni, Ni Fo; though he was the god of Ease, and lived daintily, whilst I am starved with great circumspection.

Mr. Elmsley told Mr. Wildman some time ago, that, being totally ignorant of

"In 1788, he published 'Observations on the Subject of the Fourth Eclogue; the Allegory in the Third Georgic, and the Primary Design of the Æneid of Virgil, with Incidental Remarks on Some Coins of the Jews,' 8vo; and, in 1792, 'An Essay towards a New Edition of Tibullus, with a Translation and Notes,' 8vo. In the 'Archæologia,' xiv. 205, is printed Dr. Henley's 'Explanations of the Inscriptions on a Brick from the Site of Antient Babylon,' and some of his papers are inserted in the 'Monthly Magazine,' — particularly one on the 'Zodiac in the Temple of Dendra.'"

Olympia Morata.

The PRESIDENT said that Judge Chamberlain had gone back a hundred years, and given an interesting account of one whose name was probably known to but few of us, until we had listened to the paper which had just been read. That paper, with all its original letters, would be a valuable contribution to our next volume of Proceedings. Meantime, he would venture, himself, to go back more than three hundred years, and to call attention to a name which might be even less familiar to most of those present.

It would be remembered, perhaps, that he had more than once made reference to an old manuscript volume, which seemed to have been a kind of Commonplace-Book of Adam Winthrop, the father of the Governor. From that little *far-rago libelli*, as it might well be called, he had, at one time, derived a contemporaneous account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots; and, at another time, a detailed description of the last sad scene in the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, with the words which he uttered on the scaffold.

what my library consisted, he was collecting in the dark. By this, things are at a stand; but pray let my L. P. Classics be completed.

Where are our Don Quixotes? God knows how I spell or write: my head swims. My love to the boys. Should be glad to see them at Christmas. Shall now go to church most regularly, and be very sober. Will you be so kind as to look out for me good copies and the best impressions of Overbeck's An. Rome, the Justiniani Gall., Museum Cassitoli^m: and Bentley's designs for Gray. There is no trace of Cardinal Ximenes' Bible, that I can discover, in Italy. Lord A. behaved shabbily about that book, but like one who well knew its value. I believe [it] one of the scarcest Bibles. My Hawkesworth is very indifferent. I wish you would [look] out for a fine copy with first impressions. For all expenses, apply to Mr. Wildman, whom I have written to on the subject. I hope you will be graciously pleased to answer this scrawl immediately; that you will give my best compliments to Mrs. H., and that you will believe me, dear friend,

Most sincerely and affectionately yours,

PORTICI, Aug. 12, 1782.

WILLIAM BECKFORD.

The conclusive letter is within a half page of being finished.

Address: N. B. Rev. Mr. Henley, Harrow on the Hill, Middlesex.

There were a few other passages in the same miscellaneous scrap-book not unworthy of notice; and one of them he proposed to deal briefly with this morning. It would at least afford him the opportunity of relating one of those little incidents or accidents of travel by which his visit to Europe, two or three years ago, was diversified.

In looking at this ancient manuscript book, he had more than once observed, on some of the most closely and crabbedly written pages, a name with which he had no associations whatever; and he had turned over the leaves again and again, without feeling any impulse to decipher or copy them. The name alone had lingered in his memory, and that somewhat faintly and flickeringly. But, in driving through the streets of Heidelberg, in the autumn of 1874 (the President continued), after having just come down from a visit to the ruins of the magnificent Heidelberg Castle, I passed the Church of St. Peter, — an old Lutheran church, on the walls of which, it was said, Luther himself had affixed one of his theses; and, on asking the friend who accompanied me whether there was any thing within the church of special interest, I was told that there was nothing except a monument to a remarkable woman named Olympia Morata. The church was closed, and it was too late for me to obtain an entrance. But, feeling sure that Olympia Morata was the name I had once or twice spelt out in Adam Winthrop's *Commonplace-Book*, I requested my friend to send me a copy of the inscription on the monument, with a reference to any account of her life which might be extant. It appeared that a careful biography of her had been written in French, not many years ago, by M. Jules Bonnet, of which I have now here the fourth edition, and which has been thought worthy of being "crowned," as the phrase is, by the French Academy. A most interesting little volume it is, which might well be translated, and find a place among our literary and religious biographies.*

A more remarkable woman, certainly, has seldom lived, in any age or land, than Olympia Morata. Born in Ferrara, in 1526, about the time of the great Revival of Letters, she seems to have exhibited in her earliest years a most preccious and marvellous talent for the languages of ancient

* There is an English Life of her by Mrs. G. Smyth, of which the fourth edition bears date 1840, dedicated to Queen Adelaide. Dr. McCrie had previously alluded to her in his "*Reformation in Italy*." T. Adolphus Trollope devotes many pages to her in his "*Decade of Italian Women*," and J. C. Colquhoun gives an account of her in his "*Life in Italy and France in the Olden Time*."

Rome and Greece; and, under the tuition of her father and other professors, she soon mastered the works of Virgil and Cicero and Homer. Before she had completed her sixteenth year, she had composed a defence of Cicero against some of his critics and calumniators. About the same time she wrote observations on Homer, and translated parts of the *Iliad*, "with great strength and sweetness." Meantime, she composed many and various poems herself, with great elegance, and dialogues in Greek and Latin, in imitation of Plato and Cicero. "I have heard her at court" (writes Curio) "declaiming in Latin, speaking Greek, and answering questions, as well as any of the females among the ancients could have done. Do not feel a doubt respecting the Sapphic Ode, in which she celebrates the praises of the Most High." This ode or hymn was even compared with those of Pindar.

She, of course, became celebrated far beyond the immediate circle in which she moved, and was chosen as the special companion and friend of the eldest daughter of the Duke of Ferrara.

But the Revival of Letters, as we know, was the immediate precursor of the great Reformation in Religion. It was the age of Luther; and his doctrines and writings speedily found their way to the parts of Italy in which Olympia resided, agitating the whole mass of Italian as well as German society. Her young heart soon caught the spirit of the reformers, and she became absorbed in the new religious movement. She was discharged from the Duke's household, and compelled to fly from Ferrara. Meantime, she had found a protector in Professor André Grunthler, a distinguished physician, whom she married, in 1550; and together they went first to Augsburg, and afterwards to Schweinfurt. Then came the civil wars, with the terrible siege of Schweinfurt, which lasted fourteen months. Escaping from there at great peril, they at length reached Heidelberg, where her husband was made a Lecturer in the University. But, two years afterwards, the plague broke out there, with great fury; and on the 26th of October, 1555, she fell a victim to it, and died at twenty-nine years of age.

The inscription on her tomb affords contemporaneous testimony to the exalted estimation in which she was held at Heidelberg; while, at Schweinfurt, the house in which she had lived for three years was ordered by the municipality to be restored at the public expense, and inscribed as follows:—

"A POOR AND HUMBLE MANSION, BUT NOT WITHOUT GLORY: IT WAS INHABITED BY OLYMPIA MORATA."

The tidings of her death, it is said, spread deep distress through the Reformed Churches in Germany, Switzerland, and France; and the warmest and most unqualified testimonies to her extraordinary genius and accomplishments were paid by De Thou, Beza, Sinapius, Melchior Adam, and others of the most distinguished writers of the time. There is a brief notice of her in the "Crudities" of the old pedestrian traveller, Thomas Coryat, first printed in 1611; and the "Itinerum Deliciæ" of Chytræus, printed in 1594, contains the inscription on her monument in Heidelberg. These volumes are in the library of Mr. Deane, to whom I am indebted for the references.

All of her writings which had been saved from the siege of Schweinfurt were carefully collected and printed by Celio Secundo Curio, Professor of Roman Eloquence in the University of Basle, to whom she had bequeathed them on her death-bed. The first edition was printed at Basle, in 1558; and a second, in 1562, which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.

Of her printed letters, one was in Greek, two in Italian, and forty-five in Latin. I know not how early any of them were printed in English; but here, in the old Commonplace-Book of Adam Winthrop, I find two of them carefully written out in English, — whether translated by himself or not I have no means of knowing. This old manuscript volume must have been familiar to his son, and, perhaps, was prepared for his edification and instruction. It is, then, hardly too much to say, that Olympia Morata was one of the characters from which some of our Puritan ancestors drew their examples; and I confess, as I have cursorily reviewed her career in this little volume, the figure of this young Italian girl, of whom, I regret to say, there is no adequate or authentic likeness, has seemed to rise before me from the dust, I had almost said from the oblivion, of centuries, to claim a place and a memory among those who, by their genius and fortitude and piety, animated and inspired the men and women who planted the land which her great compatriots, Columbus, Vespucci, and Cabot, had discovered. It is in this relation only that I have ventured to introduce her name here to-day.

The President then read a portion of the letters contained in the old Commonplace Book, which here follow entire: —

The arguments and contentes of the Epistle of Olimpia Morata, to her sister Victoria.

After their deliverance out of the cittie of Swinforde, w^{ch} was beeseeged xiiij monethes, & afterwarde taken, spoiled, & sett on fire by the Emperors Soldiers, Olimpia & her husbände, who was twice taken by them, & yet again delivered, founde great frendship of certaine noble men & women, who intertained them, & relieved their necessitie: whereof in this Epistle shee certifieth her sister, beinge then in service wth a noble ladie at Ferrara, & relateth unto her bothe the violent maner of the siege, & the great distresse that the cittie was in, & also the perill & danger that they themselves had incurred, if they had not bin warned by a stranger to flie from thence after it was taken. Therefore shee exhorteth her sister to give God thanckes for their deliverance, & sheweth her howe well content shee is to suffer afflictions for Christ & his gospels sake; exhorting her also to have a special care of her owne salvation, & to leade a godly life, though shee bee one of the electe that shal be saved, wth many other godly instructions. Shee sendeth salutations to divers, & willet her to certifie her at large of her affaires & other thinges.

Olimpia Morata, the wife of Andrew Gunther, unto her sister Victoria Morata, sendethe greetinge.

DEARE SISTER, — Wee are yet (through the love of God towards us) safelie escaped out of the great shipwracke of our wedded cuntry: for w^{ch} you also, sister, are bounde to render thanckes to the almightie & good God, who hath preserved us beinge plucked from the fire & sworde, & even out of the jawes of utter destruction. If I shoulde declare to you the dangers & miseries of warre w^{ch} wee have suffered, I shoulde rather compile a greate volume then an epistle: ffor wee were xiiij monethes full, whilst the citie was beeseeged, in great distresse, & night & daie amonge the shotte of gunnes: so as if I shoulde tell you the number of shotte that battered the walles in one daie, perchance it woulde seeme incredible. But God woulde have the citie holde out so longe that he might reduce the people to goodnes, ffor whilst wee were beeseeged fewe of ours were slaine; & the citie was impregnable, though it was not very greate, nor sufficientlie defended against so great force & munitions of the enymie. But at length, when we thought they had bin gonne (as the Empero' himselfe & other princes of the Empire had comanded), & that all thinges now had bin quiet, see, upon the suddaine, & not wth out treacherie, they rushe into the citie, & when they had rifeled it, they set it on fire. This sore wounde did Germanie (otherwise happie) receive in her bowelles through the civil dissention of the princes. In this so grete feare & astonishment, when, as my husbände & I were even thinckinge to get us into the Church as into a sanctuary, a souldio', whom we knewe not, came runninge, & advized us forthwth to flie out of the cittie, or otherwise wee shoulde be burned wth it. And trulie, if we had bin in the Church, the very smoke had stifeled us, as it did others, who fled thether. Therefore we obeyed his warninge, whosoever he was; wh^{ch} whilst wee doe, we fall amongst the soldiours, who spoile us; and my husbände also is twice taken of them, w^{ch} I tooke most heavilie of all: who, if hee had bin any longer detained, & God had deferred his helpe (for God did give him to

mee at my petition), I had surelie died through the bitternesse of my greefe. The losse of all other thinges I easily endured (for I had only my smocke left to cover my bodie), but the losse of my most deare husbände I coulde no waie have borne. But God our father hearde my sobbes, not onlie at that present time, but after also. ffor he beinge our guide, wee came to divers Counts (as nowe a daies they call them), beinge lordes of townes & castelles, of whom we were honorablie received, & had bestowed upon us clothes & other necessities : amonge whom there is one whose wife is the daughter of one of the most noble Dukes of the Germans, who are called Palsgraves. This Ladie entertained mee wth suche love & godlie affection, beinge brought verie lowe, that when I was sicke shee ministred to me wth her owne handes ; & besides that shee gave me a faire gowne, worthe above five powndes. An other noble man, whom we had not so muche as hearde of before, sent us, whilst wee were in o^r iourne, a good supplie of monye. By their liberalitie, wee were sustained in so great straights untill my husbände was called to Heidelberge (where wee nowe bee) by the most illustrious prince Pallatine, one of the seven Electors of the Empire, to be the publicke reader of Phisicke there, for it is one of the Univ^sities of Germanie, & not the meanest of them. Although in this calamitous & turbulent time, there is more preparinge for armes then for artes. The Bishops have a greate armye, & the others have the like, so as they spoile, rife, & burne all thinges. Also in Englands the godlie are greivouslie afflicted. I heare that Bernardino Ocello, of Iene, a true Xtian man, is fled to Geneva. So that every where he that wilbe a Christian must beare his Crosse. And truelie for my part I had rather suffer, so it be wth Christ, then to ioioie the whole earthe wthout Christ. Neither do I desire any thinge more but him. Although I am not ignorant that our forepassed sufferinges shall not be the last, many other thinges abide us to be suffered hereafter if wee live ; nay, not at this very time are wee free from troubles. One thinge I pray for, that God will give me faithe & constancie unto the ende ; wth I also trust that he will doe, for he hath promised to heare my prayers, as often as I call upon him. And I doe dailie powre out my soule before him. Neither is it in vaine, for I feele my selfe so strengthened & confirmed that I have not given place to his adversaries, who abounde in all places, no not a haire breadthe, in the cause of religion. Neither in any thinge doe I consent wth those Epicures, who pretende the sacred name of the Gospel, to cover their filthie lustes. Thus thou seest (Deare Sister) that no place is cleare of enemies, the worlde, the Devil, & the fleshe. But it is farre better to suffer afflictions wth the Church of God, in this most short life, then to be condemned wth the adversaries to everlasting sorrow, where the eyes are closed up to eternal night. Wherefore I earnestlie pray thee (good sister) to have respecte to thy salvation, & to feare him more, who wth one worde created all thinges, who hath made you, who hath saved you, & heaped so many benefites upon you, then a fewe unprofitable burthens of the earthe, then the shadowe of the worlde although it threaten, or elle smile & fawne upon you. ffor all thinges that you looke upon, what are they but a thynne vapour, or vanishinge smoke, or as stubble & haie, suddenlie to be consumed by fire. If so be that you feele yo^rselfe weake in this waie that leadeth to heaven, take heede that you excuse not yo^r weakenes ; for the concealinge of a disease makes it the greater, & it is displeasinge unto God : for this cause the prophet David (Psa. cxli. 4) praiethe that God would not suffer his heart to incline so muche, as that he shoulde pretende an excuse for his sinnes. What must you doe then ? Confesse yo^r disease unto the lorde, the true physition : beseehe him that he would applie some medi-

cine to you; that he woulde adde strengthe to yo' weakenes; & that he woulde cause you to love & feare him more then men, ffor therfore in the psalmes he is so often called the God of our strengthe, to the ende that he may fortifie us & make us stronge, so that wee will knowe ourselves, & aske it of him; for he wilbe prayed to continually that he may be intreated. And be assured that he heareth thy praiers, & will doe what thou desirest; yea, & above thy request, seinge he is liberall, & bountifull towardes all those that seeke him heartelye. But take heede (my sister) that you despise not the voice of the gospell & saie, if, indeed, if I bee one of those that bee chosen, & appointed to salvation, I cannot perishe, for this were to tempt God, who willett us, by the obedience of ths gospel, & praier, to obtaine salvation. ffor albeit election be certaine, & the salvation of those who be pdestinate be sure, wth such as are Christes doe feele in the inner man; yet is it not wthout Christ, & those things wth doe adorne the Christian profession. Paul tells us, that faith is by hearinge, & hearinge by the worde of God. The same he writes also in the epistle to the Galathians, & in the Actes of the Apostles it appeares by the very place, that those were endued wth the holy Ghost wth had harkened to the voice of the gospel. Let that also never be forgotten of you, wth both Paul & James doe affirme, that the faith is approved of the lorde wth is lovelie & workinge by love, & not that wth is idle & unprofitable. If it be so that you want libertie to heare, yet let no daie passe wthout readinge the holy scripture & prayer; that God woulde inlighten yo' mynde, to und'stande & gather out the things wth may further you to live well & happilie. But if also you have little spare time from yo' mistres buysines, arise somewhat the more earlie in the morninge, & goe a little the later to bed in the eveninge, & so in yo' private bedchamber pforme those duties that serve for yo' salvation. ffor the lorde comandes us to seeke his kingedome & the righteousness thereof, before all things. Those duties pformed, intende yo' m^{rs} service wth that willingnes & faithfulness, wth that respecte & hono' wth may well be-seeme a Christian maiden wel brought up. Speake to Lavinia yo' mistres that shee also may seeke ease of her griefes & vexations from Christian philosophie, together wth rest from all cares. Wee shall shortlye arive in the wished haven. Time passeth swiftelie, as wel in adversitie, as in prosperitie. But if her sufferinges seeme longer & harder, let her consider that shee suffers wth the citizens of heaven & of Christ, yea, wth Christ himselfe. ffor even that noble woman, whom I mentioned before, dothe beare her Crosse, & that no light one neither. And thoughe she be borne of a roial race & stocke, of wth there have also bin some Emperors, yet shee is as content wth this meaner condition, wth hathe befallen her. This ladie, in xix yeares space, had scarce one daie free from sickness; yea, nowe also shee is & hathe bin many daies so dangerouslie sicke, that it is gretlie doubted of her life. Shee is a woman most religious & continuallie talketh of God, & of the life to come, wth an earnest desire & fervencie of spirit to be there. Her husbände & shee have bin oftentimes brought into the hazarde of their lives & goodes for the gospels sake. O my deare sister, praye you wth Moses in the 90 Psalme, Teache me, O Lorde, to number my dayes, & to have alwaies before myne eyes the fewnesse of them; that contemninge this vaine lyfe, I may wholly addicte myselfe to wisdom, & to the contemplation of eternitie. Seeke the lorde whilst he may be founde, pray to him continually, when you take yo' foode give him thanckes; resigne yo'selfe wholly to his love. Walke not in the waie of the wicked. Keep yo' harte pure & chaste; that at lengthe overcoming you may receive y' reward. Salute hartilie in my name those matrons & damselles that be wth you. Write unto me

a large letter of all yo' affaires. The 1st of your deare Ladie Lavinia (whose name I hono^r) I do greatlie desire: hir sweete behaviou^r & godlines are never out of my mynde. I sent hir some little bokes, but chiefelie of Celius Secundus makinge. I longe to knowe whether shee received them, & if they were welcome unto her. My husbände & brother Emilius doe kisse & most hartlie salute you. ffarewell, my deere & sweete sister Victoria.

ffrom Hidelberghe, 6 Aug. 1554.

An Epistle of Olympia Morata, unto Celius Secundus Curio.

I suppose, well-beloved Celius, I neede not nowe to use any excuse to you why I have not answered your 1st, delivered unto me longe since, for that the warre it selfe doo the sufficiently cleere me, wherewth for the space of xiiij monethes we were so vexed, that by it we received all maner of calamities. For so sone as Marquis Albert, by reason of the fitnessse of the place, had placed his hoste in Swynforde, then his enymies wth were many, began to beseege the cittie, & to assaulte it, & daie & night wth their gunnes to beate the walles on all sides, when neverthesse wee were also afflicted wth in the walles by the Marquesse soldiers wth many injuries, neither was any man safe ynowe in his owne house. Beesides so often as their wages was not paide them, when it was due, they did threaten to take awaye ail from the citizins, as though they had been sent for, & hired by us. In so muche as the cittie, by maintainginge so many soldiours, was nowe utterlye consumed. By whose infection also so grevous a disease did welneere invade all the citizins that many, through greefe, & trouble of mynde being afflicted, died thereof, wherewth also my moste lovinge husbände was taken, so that there appeared no hope of his life, whom God having pittie of mee most afflicted, wthout any medicine applied, did heale. For in the towne ther was not any salves.

But as Seneca saith, the goinge out of one evil is the steppe to another that will come: for beinge delivered by God from that disease, wee were by & by beseeged wth a greater bande of enymies, wth daie & night did throwe fire into the cittie, that oftentimes in the night you woulde have thought the whole towne had bin on fire. And all that time wee were constrained to lie hidde in wine c^hllars. But at lengthe when wee looked for a happie ende of the warre, t^hrough the departure of the Marquis, who was about to leade awaie his hoaste by night to another place, wee fell into greater miserie. ffor he was scarcelie gonne out of the cittie wth his hoaste, when the next daye the soldiers of the Bishshops & of the Noringers rushed into the cittie, & after they piled it they sett it on fire. But God tooke us out of the midst of the flames, when one even of the enymies had admonished us to depart out of the cittie before it burnt in every parte; whose counsel obeyinge, wee went forth, being spoiled & made naked of all thinges, so that wee might not be suffered to carry awaye a halfe peny. Nerelie in the midst of the market-place o^r garmen^tes were plucked from us, neither was there any thinge lefte mee, but my smocke to cover my bodie wthall. And when wee were gonne out of the cittie, my husband was taken by the enymies, whom I coulde not ransom wth a smal thinge; but when I sawe him lead out of my sight, I prayed to almyghty God wth teares & sighes, who presently sent him freed to me againe. But nowe beinge gonne out of the cittie, wee knewe not whether to goe. At last wee tooke o^r iournye towards Hamelburgh, unto wth towne I was scarce able to creepe. ffor that towne was distant three Germaine miles from Swinforde. And the townsmen were unwillinge to

receive us ; for that they were forbidden to intertaine or harbour any of us. But I, amongst the poore women, seemed of all the beggers to bee a queene : I entered into that towne barefoote, my haire ruffeled, wth a torne coate, wth indeede was not myne owne, but was lent mee of another woman. And through the wearysomenes of that iournie, at lengthe also I fell into an ague, wth held me all the time of my travaillinge. ffor when the Hamelburghs feared that it was not safe for them to let us abide wth them any longe time, wee were forced, though I was sicke, wth in fowre daies after to depart from thence. But there againe whilst wee were compelled to passe by a certaine towne of a Bishop, my husband was apprehended by the Bishops chefe officer, who saide that his most mercyfull lorde comanded him to kill all psons that fled thether out of Swinforde. Therefore we were holden captives there betwene hope & feare until wee were let goe by the Bishops letters. And then at length God began to looke mercifully upon us ; & brought us first to the noble Earle of Rinecks, & afterwarde to the most honorable Countes Erbacks, who for the Christian religion have often ventured their lives & the losse of their estates & goodes, of whom wee were bountifully intertaind, & wth many giftes. Also we taried wth them many daies, until I was wel-amended, & my husband chosen to reade the phisicke lecture publicly in the Universitie of Heidelbergh.

Inscription on the Tomb of Olympia Morata at Heidelberg.

DEO IMM. S.

Et virtuti ac memorie Olympiæ Moratæ Fulvii Morati Mantuani, viri doctiss. filiæ, Andreæ Grunthleri Medici conjugis lectissimæ : fœminæ, cuius ingenium, ac singularis vtriusq; linguæ cognitio ; in moribus autem probitas, summumq; pietatis studium, supra cômunem modum semper existimata sunt. Quod de eius vita hominum iudicium, beata mors, sanctissimè ac pacatissimè ab ea obita, divino quoque confirmavit testimonio. Obiit mutato solo à salute D. L. V. supra millesimò, suæ ætatis xxix. Hic cum marito, & Emilio fratre sepulta. Guilielmus Rascalonius M.D. B.B. MM. P P.

MARCH MEETING, 1877.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Secretary read his record of the last meeting, which was approved.

The Librarian read his list of donors for the last month.

The President then said :—

We are not, in any sense, gentlemen, I need hardly say, a political society. Party politics, certainly, have no place here. We are many men of many minds, on all subjects,—political, historical, theological, scientific, and social. But I am sure I shall violate no neutrality in saying, that we all breathe freer since the settlement of the vexed question of the presidency at Washington, and that we all rejoice to-day that our country has entered on a new term of administration, with every hope of prosperity and peace.

The falling of the 4th of March on Sunday afforded the opportunity of another illustration of the different manner in which Sunday is observed at home and abroad. In almost all European countries, certainly, that day would have been eagerly selected for a great national festival. But the inauguration of a new President of the United States, even at so critical a moment of our public affairs, was quietly postponed till Monday. I know not how many times this may have occurred before; but I remember well that the same thing happened in 1849, when General Zachary Taylor entered on his brief presidential term. In looking over my old papers to verify this remembrance, I found one paper which I have ventured to bring here to-day, and to offer to the cabinet of the Society. It was my privilege, as the Speaker of the Thirtieth Congress, which had just expired, to act as chairman of the committee to conduct General Taylor to the Capitol on the 5th of March, 1849. It seems but yesterday since I was trundling along Pennsylvania Avenue in a carriage and four, with ex-President Polk and the President-elect on the back seat, and with Mayor Seaton and myself on the front. Of that barouche-load I am the last survivor. After the ceremonies at the Capitol were over, and we resumed our places in the procession to the Executive Mansion, President Taylor kindly made me a present of the Inaugural Address, which he

had just delivered. Here it is, indorsed by me at the time. It is only a proof-sheet, with some pencil-mark corrections, each page wafered to a letter-sheet, and impressed with what seems to be a T, and the whole fastened together with a bit of common red tape. It is, however, strikingly characteristic of the unpretending simplicity of the brave and good old man who held it in his hand on that day, and for whose memory I have ever cherished an affectionate regard. I will have a proper cover prepared for it, and then deposit it here as a memorial of one of our American Olympiads.

The Act in addition to an Act incorporating the Society, passed by the Legislature, was laid before the meeting, and was unanimously accepted. It reads as follows:—

“Chapter 13. Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven. An Act in addition to an Act to incorporate the Massachusetts Historical Society. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows: Section 1. The Massachusetts Historical Society is hereby authorized to hold real and personal estate in addition to its library to an amount of three hundred thousand dollars. Section 2. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

“House of Representatives, February 14, 1877. Passed to be enacted.

“JOHN D. LONG, *Speaker*.

“In Senate, February 15, 1877. Passed to be enacted.

“JOHN B. D. COGSWELL, *President*.

“February 16, 1877. Approved.

“ALEXANDER H. RICE.

“Secretary's Department, Boston, March, 1877.

“A true copy.

HENRY B. PEIRCE,

“*Secretary of the Commonwealth.*”

The President referred to the agency of our second Vice-President, Professor Washburn, in procuring this amendment of the Society's charter, making mention, at the same time, of the severe illness by which he was then prostrated. Whereupon, on motion of Mr. SMITH, it was unanimously

Voted, That the Recording Secretary be requested to communicate to the Hon. Emory Washburn the thanks of the Society for his valuable services in carrying through the Legislature an Act in addition to an Act to incorpo-

rate the Massachusetts Historical Society, and to express to him the best wishes of the members for his early and entire restoration to health.

The President read the following letter : —

CHARLESTOWN, March 7, 1877.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,
Pres. Mass. Hist. Society.

SIR, — I wish to present through you to the Massachusetts Historical Society this frame, inclosing certificates given to my father, Samuel Moore, signed by the Burgh Master of Ghent; also a bronze medal accompanying it.

Samuel Moore was the captain of the brig "Governor Brooks," of Boston, the first American vessel that entered the port of Ghent under the American flag after the opening of the canal. The medal was stamped to perpetuate the opening of the port.

The "Governor Brooks" sailed from Charleston, S. C., and entered the port of Ghent April 20, 1829.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. MARTHA H. STONE.

No. 12 ESSEX STREET, CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

The grateful acknowledgments of the Society were ordered for the gift.

The President called attention to the sumptuous privately printed volume on the table this morning, entitled "Some Account of the Taylor Family (originally Taylard), compiled and edited by Peter Alfred Taylor, M.P. London, 1875."

It seems that only one hundred copies of the volume had been printed, and ours was numbered 51. It was a gift from the author, of whom it contained a portrait. There were also, among its numerous illustrations, portraits of John Wilkes, Bishop Hoadly, Oliver Cromwell, and many others of less public interest.

Among the family letters, there was one from Rebecca Taylor to her niece Elizabeth, which contained the following passage: "Your brothers, both Dan and William, are very good to me. God bless the lads. Dan has made me a noble present, — the medal of Washington, that brave man; and I make Miss Barnet drink his health whenever she comes, though she called him coward." The letter was written about 1778, and shows that there were two opinions about Washington among Englishwomen as early as 1778, and that a medal of him had already found its way to at least one who prized it highly.

In the introduction to this volume, Mr. Taylor speaks of the valuable assistance of Colonel Chester, a well-known American archæologist, as follows: "In July of that year (1862) I made a speech in the House of Commons on the American war against a proposal for intervention in the interest of the South. Colonel Chester wrote, expressing his warm approbation and thanks, and asking for any information in regard to our family, which might be interesting in the United States, and which he might make use of as a correspondent of the American press." Out of this correspondence, which is fully given in the Appendix, the magnificent and costly volume on the table seems to have come; and Colonel Chester's labors and researches contributed no small part of it.

Our first duty, however, was to return our grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Taylor for so sumptuous an addition to our library, and for making this Society the recipient of the only copy which had thus far come over to America.

It was thereupon voted unanimously that the President be requested to make a special communication of our thanks to Mr. Taylor, in addition to our ordinary formal certificate.

The President then called attention to another smaller volume, which had come to us in the same parcel. It was entitled "A Royal Descent, with other Pedigrees and Memorials. Compiled by Thomasin Elizabeth Sharpe. London, 1875."

This volume was also privately printed, and contained many autograph additions and annotations by the compiler, whose pedigree was traced back to King Edward I.

The thanks of the Society were unanimously ordered to Miss Sharpe for this acceptable gift; and the President was requested to communicate them to her.

The President then proceeded as follows:—

We ought not to forget, gentlemen, that we owe the presentation of the costly volume of Mr. Taylor to the kind intervention of our Corresponding Member, Colonel Chester. It will be seen, too, on examining the volume, and that of Miss Sharpe also, that Colonel Chester has supplied no small portion of the materials of them both. His labors and researches in the line of genealogy and of history have been untiring of late years, and have been signalized by most interesting and important results. His recent publication, under the auspices of the Harleian Society, of the registers of Westminster Abbey, has been hailed on all sides, by the antiquaries and historical students of England, as a most valuable contribution to history. Dedicated to the Queen, by her Majesty's

permission, it has received from her Majesty more than one gracious and graceful recognition. In sending to Colonel Chester the recently published second volume of the "Life of the Prince Consort," with the autograph inscription, "To Colonel Chester, from Victoria, R. & I.," she accompanied it with a message to him, "that she had not been forgetful of his labors, and wished him to understand how much she appreciated them." She had already sent him the first volume.

Colonel Chester, I learn, has engaged to prepare, for the New Shakspeare Society, a volume of the wills of authors and actors of the reigns of Elizabeth and James, with annotations.

Meantime, he is promising to give us new materials for the reconstruction, on a more authentic basis, of the Pedigree of Washington.

It cannot fail to be a subject of interest and pride with Americans that a fellow-countryman of our own should be successfully and signally associated with researches which have so great an interest on both sides of the Atlantic.

The President was thereupon requested to communicate our acknowledgments to Colonel Chester, with our congratulations on the success of his labors.

Dr. GREEN read the following brief account of the Battle of Bunker Hill from the leaf of a journal of Thomas Boynton, a soldier belonging to Andover:—

Thomas Boynton's Journal.

Andover, April 19, 1775. This morning, being Wednesday, about the sun's rising, the town was alarm'd with the news that the Regulars was on their march to Concord; upon which the town mustered, and about 10 o'clock marched onward for Concord. In Tewksbury news came that the Regulars had fired on our men in Lexington, and had kil'd 8. In Bilricke news came that the enemy were killing and slaying our men in Concord. Bedford we had news that the enemy had killed 2 of our men, and had retreated back; we shifted our course and persued after them as fast as possible, but all in vain; the enemy had the start 3 or 4 miles. It is said that there number were about 1,500 men. They were persued as far as Charlestown that night; the next day they past Charles River. The loss they sustained as we here were 500, our men about 40. To return, after we came into Concord rode, we saw houses burning, and others plundered, and dead bodies of the enemy lying by the way, others taken prisoners. About 8 at night our regiment came to a halt in notime. The next morning we came into Cambridge and their abode.

May 13. The hole army marched to Charlestown, a long side the men of war, which gave them great surprise.

June 16. Three regiments were ordered to peraid at 6 o'clock in the afternoon, namely: Con' Fry and Con' Bridges and Con' Prescotts, after which being done, we attended prayers, and about 9 at night we marched to Charlestown with about a 1000 men, and at about 11 o'clock we began to entrench in sight of Boston and the shiping. At the sun's rising they began to fire upon us from the shiping; the 3^d or 4th shot they kild one man, and many others escaped very narrowly. At length they ceased their fire. Our work went on continually; they began again about 8 or 9 o'clock, from Corps Hill, and continued a hot fire. About 2 or 3 o'clock, the enemy landed, and advanced toards us, its thot to the number of 2000 men, and soon planted their cannon and began the fire, and advancing up to our fort. After they came within gun shot we fird, and then ensud a very hot engagement. After a number of shots passed, the enemy retreated, and we ceased our fire for a few minutes. They advanced again, and we began a hot fire for a short time. The enemy scaling our walls and the number of our men being few, we was ordered to retreat, at which time the enemy were allmost round us, and a continual firing at our heals. In the engagement we lost William Haggot, Joseph Chandler, and Philip Abbot. Wounded: Lieut's Isaac Abbot, Serg't Joshua Lovjoy, James Turner, Jeremiah Wardwell, Stephen Chandler, and Israel Holts, of our company.

August 26. Saturday night a party of our men went on what is cald the Plowd Hill, and entrenchd. Sabath day the enemy began to fire; they kild 2 men. Our reg' was mustred and marched down to Winter Hill, whare they continued all day; at night we marchd down to s^d Plowd Hill and entrenched. In the night there was a smart shower, and very sharp lightning and thunder; the most of us wet to the skin. At about 7 o'clock we was releaved, the enemy fird not a gun at us.

The President read a letter from the Hon. Hiland Hall, of Bennington, Vt., relating to the Battle of Bennington.

Mr. PAIGE made the following remarks:—

Mr. PRESIDENT, — Several weeks ago, I mentioned to you my hope that I might to-day present to our Society, as a birth-day offering, my long-delayed "History of Cambridge." I regret that I cannot fully execute my purpose; but at the suggestion of our Librarian, Dr. Green, I have laid on the table an unbound copy of the volume, to be replaced by another in a more comely form before our next meeting. I should have hesitated to adopt this unusual mode of presentation, had I not been so forcibly admonished by the sudden prostration and the present critical condition of our honored associate, ex-Governor Washburn, that one who has attained the age of seventy-five years has a very slender hold on life.

I cannot disguise from myself the fact that if I should postpone the matter even for a single month, I might lose the opportunity to crave indulgence for my shortcomings generally, and especially for treating so briefly two very important subjects; namely, the foundation and management of Harvard College, and the military occupation of Cambridge at the commencement of the Revolutionary War. The history of the College is too important to be treated as a mere fraction of a more general history; moreover, it has already been three times written,—by its librarian, Benjamin Peirce; by its president, the venerable Josiah Quincy; and by its treasurer, Samuel A. Eliot. So thoroughly has the work been performed, that little was left for me, except to correct a singular error. It has been stated that the grant of £400 by the General Court, for the establishment of the College, was made on the eighth day of September, 1636; and the corresponding day in 1836 was devoted to the celebration of its two hundredth anniversary. But the records of the General Court show that the grant was made on the twenty-eighth day of October, 1636; consequently, the celebration occurred too early by seven weeks. The military occupation of the town has been so fully described by our Treasurer, Mr. Frothingham, in his "Siege of Boston," and in his subsequent publications, that scarcely a fact remained to be gleaned. As these two subjects have been so entirely monopolized by those who were in the field before me, I hope to be pardoned for devoting my attention chiefly to others, even though apparently less interesting and attractive.

The President said he was sure that the whole Society would unite with him in a grateful acknowledgment of these advance pages of so interesting a work, and in offering to its author—an advanced Paige himself—our hearty congratulations and best wishes on his seventy-fifth birthday.

The Seal of the Historical Society.

Mr. DEANE made the following remarks respecting the seal of the Society:—

I think I once heard a member of this Society inquire where Judge Davis got the device on the seal of the Historical Society. I suppose the inquiry had reference to the union of the motto with the bee-hive. But the latter part of one of the lines, from which our motto originally came, naturally suggests the bee-hive,—

"Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes."

Some years ago, I picked up a curious volume printed by the famous John Dunton in 1692, "at the sign of the Raven in the Poultry," entitled the "Complete Library," which contains on its title-page the device of the Historical Society, with some additions to it. The motto is given in the first person, instead of the second, and at length, —

"Sic nos non nobis mellificamus apes." *

I do not suppose Judge Davis ever saw this. Our late assistant-librarian, Dr. Appleton, subsequently called my attention to a representation more nearly corresponding to our device, — indeed, almost identical with it. It forms a *vignette* at the bottom of an engraved plate, containing the portraits of George Allan and William Hutchinson, Esqs., facing the title-page to the eighth volume of Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes," published in 1814. It is the bee-hive, with the bees flying round it, and the motto on a scroll beneath, "Sic vos non vobis, &c." This line has always been regarded as a favorite motto for quotation, to indicate devoted and disinterested labor, that is to say, for the good of others; and the bee as the fitting emblem to represent that sentiment. The other objects likewise suggested in the companion lines † of the poet, namely, the patient ox, which, uncomplaining, bears the yoke, and the innocent sheep, which yields for our comfort its rich fleece, more valuable and not less golden than that which Jason sought, equally represent the sentiment embodied in our chosen motto.

The Historical Society appear to have delayed adopting a seal until a late day. The records show that, on the 27th of January, 1795, — four years after the Society was instituted, and one year after its incorporation, — Mr. Winthrop ‡ reported a device for a seal, which was referred to the next meeting; and, in the mean time, each member was requested to give his attention to the subject. The records, however, are silent as to any action taken on this report and request; and it is not stated what Mr. Winthrop's device was. Dr. Belknap appears to have exercised his mind on the subject;

* The following lines are there inscribed beneath the bee-hive: —

"All plants yield honey as you see,
To the industrious chymick bee."

† Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves,
Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes,
Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves,
Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves.

‡ The Hon. James Winthrop, of Cambridge.

for I find in his interleaved almanac for 1796 the following, in his hand: "Device and motto for a seal for Historical Society: —

"A flying *eagle*, a ranging *wolf*, and a *shark*, all seeking their prey."

"*Prisca novaque, mari, cælo, terraque, petamus.*"

I do not know where Dr. Belknap picked up this line; probably it is his own composition. The Latin may be good; but, if intended for an hexameter line, critics will say it is bad.

The wide range suggested by such a device and motto will be explained by remembering that natural history was among the objects of pursuit contemplated when the Society was formed.

In a letter to Mr. Hazard, announcing the formation of the Society, Dr. B. says: "We intend to be an *active*, not a *passive*, literary body; not to lie waiting, like a bed of oysters, for the tide (of communication) to flow in upon us, but to *seek and find*, to *preserve and communicate*, literary intelligence, especially in the historical way."

There is no evidence, at least in the records, that Dr. Belknap's device was ever proposed to the Society; and no further action appears to have been taken relative to the subject till Aug. 27, 1833, when it was "*Voted*, That the President [Judge Davis] be a committee to prepare a device for a seal for the Society, and report at the next meeting." Under date, Feb. 27, 1834, "the President reported a device and motto for a seal, — a bee-hive, with the line, *Sic vos non vobis.*" Thereupon it was "*Voted*, That the report of the President respecting the seal be accepted, and that it be referred to him to procure its execution." March 27, 1834, "The President reported that he had procured a seal, and [he] presented a box with it for its preservation."

The next meeting being the Annual Meeting, the President, by request of the members, appointed a committee to nominate a list of officers, consisting of Messrs. Brooks, Goddard, and Upham. He also appointed a committee on the Treasurer's accounts, consisting of Mr. William Amory and Messrs. Mason and Lawrence.

The day of the Annual Meeting, the 12th of April, coming on Fast Day, it was voted to hold the next meeting on Wednesday, the 11th, the day preceding.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1877.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held this day, Wednesday, the 11th of April (Thursday being Fast Day); the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting, which was approved.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from the Rev. John Richard Green, (25 Connaught Street, London,) accepting the membership to which he had been elected.

The President now spoke of the great loss which the Society had sustained since the last meeting, in the death of their Second Vice-President, the Hon. Emory Washburn, saying, —

A pure, earnest, upright, and singularly useful life was brought to a close, to the sorrow of us all, by the death of our Second Vice-President, the Hon. Emory Washburn, on Sunday, the 18th of March last. The tributes which have already been paid to his memory by the daily journals, by the American Antiquarian Society, by the American Peace Society, and other philanthropic associations, by members of both branches of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and by those who officiated at his funeral, have left little for any one to say here to-day. Yet we cannot meet this morning, for the first time since the sad event occurred, without recalling the loss we have sustained as a society and as individuals, nor without placing on record some expression of our deep sense of the excellence of his character and of the eminence of his career.

It was my good fortune to know Governor Washburn, more or less intimately, for hardly less than half a century. I remember him as a frequent guest at my father's table when I was just leaving college, and when he was one of the youngest members of the Legislature of Massachusetts, as the representative of his native town of Leicester. The cordial, amiable, and attractive disposition and manner which characterized him at that early day were unchanged to the last. No cares or casualties of life, no occupations of business or study,

no official elevation, no professional engrossments, ever seemed to impair the warmth of his friendships, or to disturb the genial current of his social intercourse. He was a willing worker in every good cause, and was never weary of doing obliging things for others. His accomplishments as a lawyer, his successes at the bar, his faithful services on the bench, his able discharge of the duties of Governor of the Commonwealth, his devoted labors as Professor of the Harvard Law School, — will not be forgotten or overlooked by any one.

It happened to me, as President of the Old Whig Convention which nominated him for the chief magistracy of the State, to know how little that nomination was expected by him, and how entirely unsought for it had been. He was still on the ocean, returning from a visit to Europe, when the convention was held and the nomination made. Indeed, it may be justly said of him that he never sought any thing, in the way of public office, certainly, for himself; while he was always ready to serve his fellow-citizens in any station which might be assigned to him.

In the pursuits of our own Society he took a lively interest, and often made communications of importance at our meetings. No one can examine our published volumes without finding ample evidence of his labors in our service for many years past. The amendment to our charter, which we accepted at our last meeting, was carried through the Legislature by him as a representative of Cambridge; while the new serial number of our "Proceedings" on the table this morning contains an interesting memoir from his pen. His very latest efforts were thus in our behalf. Meantime, his history of his native town, and his sketch of the judicial history of Massachusetts, will co-operate with his elaborate legal essays on "Real Property" and on "Easements and Servitudes," in securing for his name an enviable remembrance as an author.

He died at a good old age, having entered on his seventy-eighth year on the 14th of February last. Yet the idea of advanced years was never associated with him, so young was he in heart, so vigorous in step, so full in the enjoyment and so free in the exercise of every intellectual and physical faculty. The mortal malady struck him while in the active performance of his duties at the State house.

The Council have instructed me to report the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That in the death of our Second Vice-President, the late Hon. Emory Washburn, this Society has lost one of

its most valued and most faithful members; one whose character we all respected, and whose friendship we all cherished; one whose services to the State,—in the legislative, judicial, and executive departments; to the University at Cambridge, in its Law School; and to his fellow-citizens generally, in almost every cause of philanthropy and social improvement,—were as distinguished as they were varied and untiring; and one, above all, whose personal amiability and thorough disinterestedness and firm Christian principle had rendered his character and example powerful for good in the community in which he lived.

Resolved, That the President appoint one of our members to prepare a memoir of our lamented friend and associate for publication in our "Proceedings."

The PRESIDENT was followed by the Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., by Judge THOMAS, and by Colonel LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, who paid warm tributes to the character of the deceased. The resolutions were unanimously adopted; and the President appointed Dr. Peabody to prepare a memoir of Professor Washburn for the Society's "Proceedings."

The President then said, —

You have been reminded, gentlemen, by the reading of the records, that, at the last meeting, I gave a brief sketch of the life of Olympia Morata, with extracts from one or two of her letters, which I had found in the Common Place Book of Adam Winthrop, the father of our first governor. I introduced them here mainly as showing the interest taken in the Reformation, and in those connected with it, in Italy, as well as in Germany and in England, by our Puritan ancestors, before the emigration of any of them from the mother country. With the same view, I have brought here to-day the copy of a letter recently discovered among the unpublished Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum.

Cotton Mather, in his account of the Winthrops, in his "Magnalia Christi Americana," speaks of a brother of the first Adam Winthrop as "a memorable favorer of the reformed religion in the days of Queen Mary, into whose hands the famous martyr, Philpot, committed his papers, which afterwards made no inconsiderable part of our martyr-books." In preparing an account of Governor Winthrop's progenitors, some years ago, I searched in vain for any thing to corroborate or illustrate this statement; and I stated that the name

of Winthrop was nowhere mentioned, so far as I could discover, among the friends of Philpot, or otherwise, in the "Acts and Monuments" of Fox.

A genealogist and antiquary in England, who had observed this statement (Mr. Charles Bridger, the author of several genealogical works), has kindly procured and transmitted this letter, which, though not directly confirming the statement of Mather, throws some new light on the relations which existed between Fox, the author of the "Martyrology," and one of the family of Governor Winthrop. I give it here as it has reached me:—

Copy of a Letter from William Winthrop, of London, Uncle of Governor John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, to John Fox, the Martyrologist, Nov. 18, 1560. Harleian MSS. 416, fol. 106.

Derelye beloved in Christ Jesus owre onlye comfort in all extreame assawlt &c. These fewe words are but as a testemonie of my hartie salutations unto yowe, contynwallye wysshinge your prosperous succeſſe in the Lordes harvest and that many laborers maye by your meanes be sent forth in that good worke to call the yonglings to the great supper of the lambe that was slayne from the begynninge of the worlde. And for your memento I have noted a fewe names (w^{ch} have not bowed theyre knees to Baal) w^{ch} I comit to y^r remembrance, not that I judge ye have them in Oblivion, but that I must have somewhat to blot my paper wythe to make matter. M^r Croll, James Youge, M^r Playfer, Wyll^m Fawſſet mynister of Linseye, and this berer Peter Forman, are all vertuous men fearinge god, these fewe w^{ch} many others I trust shall not be forgotten. Elyzabeth my wyeffe and owr brother J^o Upcher saluteth youe, Desyringe yowe when ye speake unto god to tell ym of us. Thus the Eternall spirite governe yowe in all yowre affaires to hys glorie and your everlastinge comforte in hym. Thys 18 november anno Dⁱ 1560 in London.

Yow^r in y^e lorde assuredlye

WYLLYAM WYNTROPP.

Syr, yf ye can procure some lyvinge of 50^{li} a yeaere or upwards for Robarde Croll, he ys mynded I heare to give up where he ys & also Rycharde Berde a good mynister. I comyt them all to yo^r Remembrance ones agayne byddinge yowe hartely farewell in Christ. Amen.

W. W.

To hys very ffrende

M^r JOHN FOX preche^r
in Norwiche.

The writer of the foregoing letter was eldest son of the second Adam Winthrop, and the only surviving son of his first wife, Alice Henny. At the date of the letter, he was thirty-one years old; and his wife was Elizabeth Norwoode, of Kent. There can be little doubt that he was "the

memorable favourer of the reformed religion" mentioned by Cotton Mather, who, however, calls him a brother of the second Adam Winthrop; whereas he was brother to the third Adam, who speaks of him as "*vir sine fraude bonus et pietatis amans*." The "Peter Forman" of the letter was rector of Groton, the seat of the Winthrop family in Suffolk; and "Linseye" (Lindsey) was an adjoining parish. "Rycharde Berde" was perhaps the "Richard Byrde, of Ipswich," mentioned in the will of the second Adam Winthrop as his brother-in-law.

William Winthrop died in 1582, in his fifty-third year, and was buried at St. Michael's Church, Cornhill, London. He left two sons, Adam and Joshua, both of whom married and subsequently settled in Ireland; and two daughters, Elizabeth, wife of Humphrey Munnynge, rector of Brettenham, County Suffolk, and Sarah, wife of John Frost, of Ipswich.

Dr. GREEN communicated the following paper from Mr. Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale College, relating to Whalley, the regicide:—

YALE COLLEGE LIBRARY,
NEW HAVEN, CONN., April 10, 1877.

MY DEAR DR. GREEN,— You will recollect that some time ago you called my attention to a letter included in the "Proceedings" of your Historical Society for January, 1876 (p. 198), giving an "account of the grave of Whalley, the regicide." You may also have noticed that a paper was read this last winter by the author of that letter, or some one of his immediate family, before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, on the same subject. I have not seen this paper, but rely on an abstract of it, furnished by the author, over his own name, to the New York "Evening Post"; and I venture to send you the result of a little further inquiry.

Mr. Robins states that he finds among family papers a memorandum drawn up by one of his direct ancestors in 1769, which recites that the writer's great-grandfather was Edward Whalley, the regicide; that he left Connecticut in 1681 under the assumed name of Edward Middleton, journeyed to Virginia, was there joined by his wife and children from England, settled finally on the eastern shore of Maryland, after the revolution of 1688 resumed his proper name, and there remained till his death.

Mr. Robins states that, in 1681, the regicide Whalley was only sixty-six years of age, *i.e.*, born in 1615, and accordingly not too old to emigrate from New England, and begin life again. I take it that this birth-date is a pure assumption on Mr. Robins's part; and I refer you to the well-known letters by Goffe for better evidence as to Whalley's great age and feebleness while in New England. The last known account of him by Goffe (in 1674; "Stiles's Judges," pp. 118, 119)

could not possibly be a description of a man who was under sixty, and was yet likely to make a toilsome journey to Virginia. I do not know that the register of his birth has yet been discovered; but it is clear, from what is known of his English career, and of the ages of other members of his family, that he was born about 1600, and before that date rather than after.

Mr. Robins refers us, fortunately, to one public document, viz., to the will of this ancestor of his, preserved, as he says, in the recorder's office in Worcester County, Md. I have written to the recorder; and he has obligingly sent me a copy of the only will in his office which, as he assures me, at all meets the description given. Its contents show beyond a doubt that it is the document to which Mr. Robins directs us. The property bequeathed, and the names of the children, agree completely with the details given by Mr. Robins. The subscription to the will is unfortunately not in the form of the name which was always used by the regicide and his family in England. It is, instead, "*Edward Wale*, his mark," which seems a suspicious, but not an inexplicable, variation. The date of the will is, however, conclusive evidence that it was not the act of the regicide Whalley, it being executed on April 21, 1718, when, even upon Mr. Robins's assumption, his ancestor was one hundred and three years old, and when it is safer to say that the regicide would have been about one hundred and twenty. I submit it to you whether this Maryland claimant needs any further investigation.

Yours very truly,

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

A model of the late Brattle Street Meeting-House was offered to the Society through the Rev. S. K. Lothrop, D.D., on the terms indicated in a letter of Mr. Jenks, communicated at the same time, and copied in full on the records of the Society; on which it was

Voted, To receive the model on the terms expressed.

The Treasurer read a letter from Dr. H. I. Bowditch, enclosing an affidavit of Mrs. Morton, the mother of the late Dr. W. T. G. Morton, which he wished placed with the other memorials relating to Dr. Morton and his alleged discovery of the virtues of ether; on which it was

Voted, To add the paper sent to those already deposited in the Society's archives.

The Recording Secretary announced that a serial of the Society's "Proceedings" for October and November, 1876, was ready for distribution.

The President, referring to the communication of Mr.

Deane at the last meeting, relating to the seal of the Society, exhibited an impression of the seal in wax, inclosed in a box understood to be made from the wood of the ship "Constitution." These had been presented by Judge Davis to the late Thomas L. Winthrop, one of our former presidents, who had volunteered to bear the expense of engraving our original seal, agreeably to Judge Davis's design, in 1834. The President presented the box and its contents to the cabinet of the Society.

The President read a letter from our Honorary Member, Count de Circourt, in which he expressed great satisfaction with the translation, in the Society's "Proceedings," of his "Historical Conclusions or Review," which originally appeared as an appendix to his French version of one of the later volumes of Mr. Bancroft's History.

The business of the Annual Meeting was now entered upon.

Mr. EDMUND QUINCY submitted the Annual Report of the Council.

Dr. GREEN submitted the Report of the Librarian, also that of the Cabinet-keeper, in the absence of that officer.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM submitted the Report of the Treasurer.

Mr. MASON, from the Committee to examine the Treasurer's Accounts, certified to their correctness.

All these reports were severally accepted and referred to the Committee on the "Proceedings," and they here follow.

Report of the Council.

The annual Fast having been appointed by the Governor and Council for the second Thursday in April, — the regular day for holding the Annual Meeting of this Society, — the Council have anticipated the usual time of our anniversary by one day; so that it is held on this Wednesday, the 11th of April. The history of the Society during the year, memorable as completing the first century of the life of the nation, has not been marked by any very important events. The business done at the Monthly Meetings, and the communications made at them, will be found recorded in the "Proceedings" of the year, soon to be published.

The Society, at the request of the committee charged with conducting the Centennial Exhibition, caused to be sent to Philadelphia a set of its publications, and most, if not all, of the members who had published works of their own added copies of the same to the collection. Such of the portraits in

the gallery, and of the relics in the cabinet, as were especially interesting, as connected with revolutionary history, were also lent, as our offering towards the success of that memorable occasion. All of these contributions have been safely returned in as good condition as when sent.

Besides the volume of "Proceedings," the Society has published during the year two volumes of the Belknap Papers, which, being in the hands of the members, it is unnecessary to enlarge here on their interest or value. The individual members have produced a rather unusual amount of work, mostly in an historical direction. Mr. Thomas C. Amory has published an elaborate work, entitled "The Transfer of Erin," treating of important passages in the history of Ireland. The Rev. Dr. Paige has completed and given to the public a "History of Cambridge," a work of great research and conscientious elaboration. The Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis prepared a "Discourse on the Evacuation of Boston," at the request of the city authorities, and delivered it on the anniversary of that event. As a monograph of that important passage in our history, it leaves nothing to be desired. The President of the Society has given us a little work, entitled "Washington, Bowdoin, and Franklin," dealing with the relations, public and private, of those eminent men with each other.

The occurrence of the centenary of the nation on the Fourth of July of the last year gave a particular interest to the celebration of that great anniversary. Several of our Resident and Corresponding Members were called upon to address public meetings on that day in various parts of the country. Among those thus distinguished were the President, Mr. Winthrop; the Vice-President, Mr. Adams; the Librarian, Dr. Green; the Rev. Dr. Quint; Judge Benjamin F. Thomas; the Hon. William M. Evarts; and the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs. All of these productions have been printed, and have an historical value far above the average of the ephemeral Fourth-of-July orations.

Since the last Annual Meeting, the Society has lost by death one of its Corresponding Members, Mr. William V. Wells, of California, the great-grandson and biographer of the patriot Samuel Adams. We have also been called on to lament the loss of two of our oldest Resident Members, Colonel Thomas Aspinwall and ex-Governor Emory Washburn. Colonel Aspinwall died on the 11th of August last, in the ninety-third year of his age. His eminent military and civil services will appear in the next volume of our "Proceedings." He was constant in his interest in the Society, and regular in

his attendance at the Monthly Meetings, until the infirmities of extreme old age rendered this impossible. He added two volumes to our "Collections," containing papers collected by him when American Consul at London, of great historical importance, much interest and value. His military bearing, polished manners, and intelligent conversation will be always fresh in the remembrance of all who knew him.

The Hon. Emory Washburn died on the 18th of last month, at Cambridge, and was buried from the Appleton Chapel. His funeral was attended by delegations of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the State government, and of the various societies of which he was a member, including our own. His eminent, intellectual, and moral qualities, his services at the bar, on the bench, in the legislature, and as Governor of the State, will be told at large hereafter in our "Proceedings." He was a regular attendant at the Monthly Meetings and at the meetings of the Council, and had done much useful work for us, as our Transactions bear honorable witness. He retained the full activity of his powers to the last, having been in his place in the General Court as member of the House for Cambridge, up to the time of his fatal seizure. One of his latest acts in this capacity was done in our behalf. In furtherance of suggestions, of which record may be found in former reports, and particularly in that of the last year, he carried through both Houses a change in our charter, allowing the Society to hold property to the amount of three hundred thousand dollars, exclusive of its library, instead of one hundred thousand, as it stood before. For this essential service, which perhaps could not have been so satisfactorily accomplished if not enforced by his personal influence and the just weight of his character, the Society owes to his memory the tribute of its gratitude.

The further change which Governor Washburn proposed uniting in the same act with the one just mentioned, — that of abolishing the constitutional limit of our membership, and leaving its number to our own discretion, — was discussed at one or two meetings, and fully considered at a Special Meeting held for the purpose, when it was finally disposed of by indefinite postponement. The vacancy in our number caused by the death of Governor Washburn is the only one now existing.

In view of the comparatively satisfactory condition of the finances of the Society, the Council has judged it proper and expedient to fill the office of Assistant-Librarian, which has been vacant since we were obliged to dispense with the ser-

vices of Mr. Frederic H. Hedge, Jr., at the close of the year 1871. We have accordingly appointed Mr. John A. Henshaw, A.M., who will forthwith enter upon his duties.

All which is respectfully submitted by

EDMUND QUINCY,

Chairman of the Standing Committee.

Report of the Librarian.

The Librarian has the honor to submit his Annual Report. There have been added to the Library: —

Books	664
Pamphlets	2,081
Unbound volumes of newspapers	5
Maps	6
Plans	5
Broadsides	23
Volumes of manuscripts	8
Manuscripts	45
Fac-similes	4

2,841

Of the books added, 493 have been given, 32 have been procured by exchange, and 139 bought. Of the pamphlets added, 1,937 have been gifts, 109 have been received by exchange, and 35 by purchase. Of the Society's publications, 10 volumes have been exchanged for other works. There are now in the Library, it is believed, 24,315 volumes; which number includes the files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse collection. The number of pamphlets in the Library is now about 46,000. Mr. Lawrence has continued his gift of books relating to the Rebellion; having added during the year 230 volumes and 49 pamphlets. Since the Annual Meeting in 1868, he has given 561 books and 188 pamphlets connected with this subject. There have been bought with the income of the Savage Fund 139 volumes and 30 pamphlets. The set of the Society's publications which was sent to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia has been safely returned.

During the year there have been taken out 285 books and 5 pamphlets, and all have been returned. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Library is rather one of reference than of circulation; otherwise the statement of this fact might give a wrong impression of its use.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

APRIL 11, 1877.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

In the absence of the Cabinet-keeper, I have the honor to report that the Cabinet is in good condition. During the year there have been added seventeen articles, of which the most interesting perhaps, was the Indian weather-vane from the old Province House, given at the December meeting by Mrs. Emily W. Appleton, through the Rev. Dr. Ellis. The four portraits and other articles from the Cabinet sent to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia have all been returned in good order.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *for the Cabinet-keeper.*

APRIL 11, 1877.

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society submits the Annual Report for the year closing April 5, 1877:—

Cash on hand April, 1876	\$4,910.65
„ received to April, 1877	13,487.37
	<u>\$18,398.02</u>
Cash paid during the year	\$12,102.31
„ in hand April, 1877	6,295.71
	<u>\$18,398.02</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

Balance of 1876	\$503.57
George Arnold, service	1,009.96
Joseph King, tending boiler	248.58
William Hamilton, „	165.72
Incidental expenses	416.61
Coal and fuel	248.80
Printing	60.28
Washington's Newburg Address	365.00
Sinking Fund	1,200.00
Interest on loan of \$60,000	4,200.00
Credit of the Appleton Fund	732.18
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	405.34
Dowse Fund	600.00
Peabody Fund	1,470.00
Savage Fund	340.00
Savage Fund. — Expenditure	877.58
Appleton Fund „	2,092.79
Peabody Fund, „	1,626.99
Balance to new account	2,549.33
	<u>\$18,702.73</u>

City of Boston, rent	\$9,000 00
Sales of the Society's publications	669.21
Annual assessments and subscriptions	1,683.93
Interest on deposits	123.51
Admissions	60.00
Return premiums of insurance companies	130.72
Coupons of Quincy & Palmyra R.R. bond	80.00
" " Han. & St. Joseph R.R. " 	80.00
Peabody Fund.—Income	1,470.00
Savage Fund.—Income	340.00
Debit of the Dowse Fund, care of the Library	600.00
Peabody Fund.—Expenditure	1,626.99
Savage Fund.—Expenditure	377.58
Appleton Fund, viz.,	
In 1876	\$518.00
In 1877	2,092.79

- 2,610.79

\$18,702.78

This fund consisted of ten thousand dollars, presented to the Society, Nov. 18, 1854, by the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, on the condition that its income be applied to the purchase, preservation, and publication of historical material. It was received from the executors in ten shares of manufacturing stocks. These stocks were sold, and the proceeds, amounting to twelve thousand two hundred and three dollars, were invested in the real estate of the Society, as stated in previous reports. Volumes III. to X., inclusive, of the Fourth Series of the Society's "Collections," the first volume of the Fifth Series, and the volumes entitled "The Belknap Papers," were printed from the income of this fund, and the strictly historical portions of the volumes of the "Proceedings" of the Society for 1862-63 and for 1864-65.

Account ending April, 1877.

To Balance		\$613.46
John Wilson & Son, Belknap Papers		\$404.65
M. Dorini, copying		118.85
		<hr/>
John Wilson & Son, Belknap Papers		518.00
" " " " " "		874.42
" " " " " "		248.13
" " " " " "		408.66
J. R. Osgood, Heliotypes		20.00
George Dexter, Index		60.00
T. Y. Crowell, Binding		129.15
John Wilson & Son		852.43
		<hr/>
		\$3,224.25

CREDITS.

One year's interest on the investment	\$732.18
Balance to new account	2,492.07
	<u>\$3,224.25</u>

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND.

This fund was originally two thousand dollars, presented to the Society by Hon. David Sears, by an instrument dated Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted Nov. 8, 1855. This provides that the income is to be added to the principal annually between July and January, to form a new investment; but, in any year before such investment, the Society may by vote expend the income for such purposes as may be required; or it may by vote expend the accumulation of the income, in whole or in part, towards the purchase or improvement of the premises belonging to the Society, "or in the purchase of works of art or desirable objects," provided that in no case whatever "the original trust-sum be encroached upon or diminished."

The original sum of two thousand dollars was invested in the Society's building. The principal was increased on the 26th of December, 1866, by a subscription, by David Sears and Nathaniel Thayer, of five hundred dollars each, according to the terms of the original instrument, which has not been invested. This, with the two thousand dollars, stands on the ledger as an obligation of the Society, making the principal three thousand dollars.

Pursuant to a vote of the Society, five hundred dollars was paid July 5, 1869, from the accumulation, towards paying off the debt incurred by the purchase of the estate owned by the Society. No other expenditure has been made from the accumulation.

Account ending September 1, 1876.

DEBIT.

Balance to new account	\$4,160.91
	<u>\$4,160.91</u>

CREDIT.

Balance of old account	\$3,755.57
Interest one year on \$3,755.57, accumulated income	225.84
" " " \$3,000 of principal	180.00
	<u>\$4,160.91</u>

According to the terms of the trust, the whole of the

This fund of ten thousand dollars was presented to the Society, April, 1857, by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, and it was invested in a note signed by Ed-

ward Hyde and O. W. Watris, secured by mortgage on real estate. This note was paid on the 17th of April, 1863; the whole fund was then invested in the real estate of the Society, and it stands on the ledger as an obligation of the Society. The income of this fund is included in the rent received from the city of Boston, and the expenditure is included in the salaries paid to Mr. Arnold and the assistant, who are employed in the care of the Dowse Library. The account on the ledger the last year is as follows:—

Account to April, 1877.

DEBIT.

Service for the care of the room	\$600.00
	<u>\$600.00</u>

CREDIT.

By one year's interest on \$10,000	\$600.00
	<u>\$600.00</u>

SAVAGE FUND.

The late President, James Savage, bequeathed to the Society five thousand dollars, the income of which is to be expended "for the increase of the said Society's Library." This was received in June, 1873, and invested in \$5,000 bonds of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad, bearing interest at six per cent per annum, at 90,—\$4,500; and ten shares in this company, costing \$523.25. The income account the past year is as follows:—

DEBITS.

Expenditures for books	\$377.58
Balance	567.95
	<u>\$945.53</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of old account	\$605.53
By interest on \$5,000 bonds of Philadelphia R.R.	300.00
Dividend on 10 shares of ditto	40.00
	<u>\$945.53</u>

In 1874, several of the members agreed "that the Treasurer might call on them for the sums set against their names, respectively," for three years, "in lieu of their annual assessments," "to enable the Publishing Committee to proceed with a new volume of 'Collections'"; provided that twelve

hundred dollars were subscribed. The subscribers were as follows:—

Amos A. Lawrence	\$100	R. C. Waterston	\$25
John Amory Lowell	100	Richard Frothingham	25
William Amory	100	Emory Washburn	25
Stephen Salisbury	100	W. Latham	25
Robert C. Winthrop	50	George B. Emerson	25
George E. Ellis	50	A. T. Perkins	25
R. M. Mason	50	James M. Robbins	25
Henry G. Denny	50	G. T. Bigelow	25
C. F. Adams	50	F. Parkman	25
Edmund Quincy	50	H. A. Whitney	25
Nathaniel Thayer	50	J. P. Quincy	25
Theodore Lyman	50	C. C. Smith	20
William Appleton	30	J. L. Sibley	20
John H. Clifford	25		
Ellis Ames	25		
W. H. Whitmore	25		\$1,220

The total amount received from these subscriptions was \$3,660. Three of the twenty-nine had paid their assessments in full. Deducting from this sum of \$3,660 the three twenty-six annual assessments of \$10 each, \$780, and it left the sum of \$2,880 as the contribution for the "Collections."

The Publishing Committee began the printing of the volumes entitled "The Belknap Papers," and marked on the bills "From the Collection Fund." Hence it was stated in the last Annual Report that \$318 had been paid from this fund. But the title-pages of these volumes read "Printed at the charge of the Appleton Fund." Hence the whole expense of these two volumes has been charged to this fund.

The property of the Society is as follows:—

Real estate on Tremont Street.

Peabody Fund. { Twenty-one thousand dollars in bonds of Boston & Albany R.R.

{ Deposit of \$493 in Suffolk Savings Bank.

Savage Fund. { Five thousand dollars in bonds of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, & Baltimore R.R.

{ Ten shares in stock of ditto.

Bond of the Hannibal & St. Joseph R.R. of \$1,000.

Bond of the Quincy & Palmyra R.R. of \$1,000.

Six thousand volumes of the Society's Publications; viz., 43 of Collections, 12 of Proceedings, 2 of the Catalogue, and 1 of Lectures.

Library of 19,665 volumes, and about 40,000 pamphlets.

The Dowse Library of 4,650 volumes.

The Cabinet, consisting of pictures, medals, and statuary.

The copyright of plates of the Life of John Q. Adams.

The income of the Society consists of an annual assessment on each Resident Member of ten dollars, the admission-fee of twenty dollars, the rent of its building, the interest on the Peabody and Savage Funds, and the coupons of the two thousand dollars in bonds.

The obligations of the Society are the annual interest to the Appleton Fund, to the Dowse Fund, and to the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund, and the interest on its mortgage note of \$60,000.

The cash in hand, \$6,295 71, is on deposit in the New England Trust Company, on interest at two and a half per cent; to this is to be added the special deposit of \$1,200 of the sinking fund, at three and a half per cent interest, making a total of \$7,500. This will be increased by the regular income. A portion of this will be needed immediately to pay for the volumes of "Collections" and of "Proceedings," going through the press, and for the increased current expenses, and for additional publications. But six thousand dollars may at once be applied to the reduction of the debt.

The mortgage note held by the Trustees under the will of Ebenezer Francis becomes due on the 17th instant. Arrangements have been made to renew this note for \$54,000 for five years, — the first year at the rate of five per cent interest, and the succeeding four years at six per cent, the Society to have the right to pay on it at any time a sum not less than three thousand dollars.

Hence I recommend that the vote establishing a sinking fund be rescinded, and that the Treasurer be directed to pay such sums as may not be required to carry on the operations of the Society, and indorse the payments on the mortgage note; provided that a sum not less than two thousand dollars shall be paid each year.

The undersigned was elected the Treasurer in April, 1847. On declining a re-election, it is a satisfaction to say, that during the thirty years he has held this office he has not had an unpleasant word from any of the members of the Society, and has received only courtesy at their hands.

Respectfully submitted,

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Treasurer.*

Boston, April 5, 1877.

The undersigned, the committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending April, 1877, have performed that duty by comparing the vouchers with the entries, and found them correct, and the balances on the ledger as follows: —

DEBITS.

Appleton Fund	\$2,492.07
Cash in hand deposited in New England Trust Co.	6,295.71
	<u>\$8,787.78</u>

CREDITS.

Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	\$4,160.91
Peabody Fund	1,509.59
Savage Fund	567.95
General account	2,549.33
	<hr/>
	\$8,787.78
	<hr/>

They also find in the hands of the Treasurer the following securities:—

Bond of the Quincy & Palmyra R.R.	\$1,000.00
" " Hannibal & St. Joseph R.R.	1,000.00
Bonds of the Boston & Albany R.R.	21,630.00
Bond of five thousand dollars of the Philadelphia, Wilming- ton, & Baltimore R.R.	4,500.00
Ten shares of Philadelphia, Wilmington, & Baltimore R.R.	523.25
Deposit in Suffolk Savings Bank	493.00
Note of New England Trust Co.	1,200.00
	<hr/>
	\$30,346.25
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ROBERT M. MASON, } Committee.
W. AMORY, }

Mr. BROOKS, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year, which was unanimously adopted:—

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

HON. CHARLES F. ADAMS, LL.D. BOSTON.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

EDMUND QUINCY, A.M. BOSTON.

Corresponding Secretary.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq. BOSTON.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

WILLIAM S. APPLETON, A.M. BOSTON.

Standing Committee.

REV. HENRY W. FOOTE, A.M. BOSTON.

FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.B. BOSTON.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

CHARLES C. PERKINS, A.M. BOSTON.

WINSLOW WARREN, LL.B. BOSTON.

In connection with the report of the Librarian, Mr. SMITH called the attention of members to the very large and valuable collection of books, now in the Library, relating to the Rebellion, more than half of which had been given by one gentleman, and offered the following vote, which was unanimously adopted: —

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to our Associate Member, the Hon. AMOS A. LAWRENCE, for his large and often-repeated gifts to the Library, and especially for his watchful care in securing for it every accessible book and pamphlet which can in any way throw light on the history of the civil war.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM, in connection with the Treasurer's account, submitted the following vote, which was unanimously adopted: —

Voted, That the order passed by the Society at the last Annual Meeting, "that \$1,200 per annum be set aside to create a sinking fund for the reducing of the Society's debt," be rescinded; and that the Treasurer be directed to set aside each year a sum not less than \$2,000 for this purpose, and indorse the payments on the Society's note.

On motion of Mr. D. A. GODDARD, the following votes were unanimously adopted: —

Voted, That the thanks of the Society are extended to Mr. CHARLES DEANE, who declines a renomination after thirteen years of service as Recording Secretary, for his untiring zeal in the routine duties of that office, for the fidelity, accuracy, and learning with which he has in that time superintended the publication of its "Proceedings," and especially for his frequent and always welcome contributions to its "Collections."

Also, That the thanks of the Society are presented to Dr. CHANDLER ROBBINS for his acceptable services as Corresponding Secretary during the period of thirteen years, he having declined a renomination.

Also, That the thanks of the Society are presented to the Hon. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, who declines a renomination, after thirty years of faithful service as Treasurer of the Society, and especially for the judgment and devotion with which, as a member of the government during that period, he has watched over its interests.

Also, That the thanks of the Society are presented to Messrs. EDMUND QUINCY, WILLIAM G. BROOKS, CHARLES C. SMITH, and Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, for their services as members of the Standing Committee.

MAY MEETING, 1877.

The stated monthly meeting was held this day, Thursday, May 10, in the hall of the Society; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the Annual Meeting was read by the Recording Secretary, and approved.

The Librarian, Dr. GREEN, made a report of the gifts to the Library since the last meeting.

The President announced the death of the Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, M.A., which had occurred since the Annual Meeting, and spoke of his various public services, and especially of his contributions to history. He noticed, in particular, his work on the "American Loyalists," and that on "Duels and Duelling;" and read the following resolutions, reported from the Council:—

Resolved, That this Society has heard with regret of the decease of their venerable Resident Member, the Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, who, by a life of activity and devotion in the many honorable positions to which he has been called, and especially by his successful historical labors, deserves to be remembered with gratitude by his associates here, and by the community in which he was so widely known.

Resolved, That the President be requested to appoint a member of the Society to prepare a Memoir of Mr. Sabine for the "Proceedings."

These resolutions, after being warmly supported by the Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE and the Rev. Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, were unanimously adopted.

The Treasurer, Mr. C. C. SMITH, made a statement as to the financial condition of the Society, and offered, from the Council, the following resolution:—

Voted, That the Treasurer be, and hereby is, authorized and directed to charge to the accumulated income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund the sum of \$4,000, being a part of the sum paid by him April 17, 1877, toward the reduction of the mortgage debt of the Society, which debt was incurred for the purpose of improving the premises belonging to the Society.

The consideration of this resolution, after remarks by the President, the Treasurer, Dr. ELLIS, Mr. DEANE, and Mr. WILLIAM AMORY, was postponed until the next meeting of the Society.

The President stated that, during his recent absence from Boston, he had met with several of the Corresponding Members of the Society, naming Mr. Bancroft, Mr. Bryant, and Mr. James Lenox. He was privileged to visit the Lenox Gallery, and presented a copy of the catalogue of the same to the Society. He also attended, as President of this Society, the meeting of the New York Historical Society, held in the Academy of Music, in celebration of the centenary of the adoption of the Constitution of New York; and presented to the Society several publications of Mr. De Peyster, the President of the New York Society.

The Rev. Dr. PEABODY read a curious old letter of the Rev. Joseph Meade to the Rev. Dr. Twisse, giving his views as to the method of the discovery of America, to the effect that it was a device of the devil to have a kingdom where he could be served and worshipped without molestation by the Christians of Europe.

Dr. PEABODY read this letter for the amusement of the members, to many of whom it was probably new, though it had been printed in one of the former volumes of the Society.*

The Rev. Mr. WATERSTON spoke of the collection of etchings illustrative of scenes and incidents of the late civil war, and intimated his intention of presenting a copy to the Society.

The President exhibited a volume, in which were bound up together the short-hand notes of Mr. Webster's great speech in 1830, in reply to Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, taken by Joseph Gales, editor of the "National Intelligencer," the copy of the same by Mr. Gales and his wife, the original MS. of the speech as written out from these materials by Mr. Webster, and the pamphlet speech as originally published. This interesting volume had been purchased by a number of gentlemen as a gift to the Boston Public Library.

The President commented on the fact that the grave of Joseph Gales, who had done so much to elevate the tone and character of the American press, had not even a stone to mark it; and he suggested that it would be a graceful and

* It was printed in the Appendix to Harris's edition of Hubbard's History, 1848. — Ed.

just action on the part of the newspaper press to raise, by small contributions, the moderate sum necessary to erect a suitable monument over one who had been so distinguished an ornament of the profession of journalism.

The President read an extract from a letter of our foreign Corresponding Member, Colonel Chester, in which he stated that he was pursuing his researches into the facts of the pedigree of Washington, and had no doubt he should show that the usually received pedigree of the Washington family was erroneous, and should establish the true line of the ancestry of General Washington.

JUNE MEETING, 1877.

A stated meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, June 14, at eleven o'clock A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The vacancy in the office of Recording Secretary was filled by the appointment of Mr. DEANE as Secretary *pro tempore*.

The record of the last meeting was read by him, and was approved.

The Librarian read his list of donors to the Library for the past month, and made special mention of a gift from Mr. Waterston of a series of etchings, entitled "Life Sketches," representing scenes in the late civil war. They were accompanied by a letter from General S. M. Quincy, certifying to the fidelity of the sketches.

The President now spoke of the death, since the last meeting of the Society, of two of its Resident Members, Edmund Quincy and John Lothrop Motley, as follows:—

MR. WINTHROP'S REMARKS.

Our first thoughts to-day, gentlemen, are of those whom we may not again welcome to these halls. We shall be in no mood, certainly, for entering on other subjects this morning until we have given some expression to our deep sense of the loss—the double loss—which our Society has sustained since our last monthly meeting.

When our valued associate, Mr. Edmund Quincy, took his seat at this table for the first time as our Recording Secretary, on the 10th of May last, there was hardly one of our number,

I think, for whom many years to come might have been more reasonably hoped, or more confidently predicted. Active, cheerful, vigorous, without an infirmity which betrayed itself to the most observing eye, he seemed to promise as protracted an old age as that of his honored father, who was so long the Nestor of our Society. We all counted on a long continuance of his services, and of his cherished companionship, as a matter of course, and without the slightest misgiving.

In the providence of God, however, a single week sufficed to complete his earthly career. Returning to his pleasant residence at Dedham, after a day of various occupation in the way of duty at Cambridge and in Boston, he was struck by a sudden illness on the afternoon of the 17th ultimo, and reached his home only to die. Many of us had the sad privilege of attending his funeral on the 21st, and it only remains for us now to pay a parting tribute to his memory, and fill his place as best we may.

It is not for me to attempt any sketch of his life or character. Yet I may not forget that my acquaintance with him was not of yesterday. Indeed, I can hardly remember a time when I did not know him. We were friends in our earliest boyhood, as we were friends in our latest manhood. Nearly sixty years ago, I think, the houses of our fathers and mothers were next door to each other, and we were mingling often in the same sports and preparing for the same pursuits, if not attending the same schools. And though he entered college a year before I did, there was hardly one of my own class with whom I was more intimate than with him. With common tastes and common friendships, we were long members of the same household, and always of the same clubs.

I recall especially a journey to the White Hills which we made together during one of the college vacations. It was no ordinary or easy expedition at that day. Much of it was to be made on foot, and there were not a few hardships to be encountered along the route. There were thick woods to be traversed; there were swollen streams to be waded; there was a night to be passed in the open air. And then the disappointments! Though we had rainbows beneath our feet and glorious glimpses of sky above our heads when we were half-way up, — we reached the summit of Mount Washington only to find ourselves enveloped in a drenching mist which cut off all our view. Thus early and impressively were we both admonished, that the loftiest climbings do not always lead to sunshine, and that he who takes "Excelsior" for his motto, in its true spirit, must look higher than any earthly moun-

tains. It was the very season of a most memorable landslide, and the rains were already descending which were to wash down hills and forests and human habitations. I cannot but remember that we passed some hours in the well-known Willey House, hardly a fortnight before its inmates were to fly from the avalanche, and not a few of them to perish in their flight.

During all that trying trip, which I recall the more vividly from having myself been prostrated by the fatigue, Quincy never lost his patience or endurance, or that sort of philosophical equanimity which so peculiarly characterized him both as boy and man. He was the same brave, cheery, charming companion when we were clambering over those rocks, or confronting those pelting rains, as he was here last month in these historical halls, — where he had endeared himself so much to us all, — when he laid down the pen, which had just been committed to him, with a characteristic pleasantries, and looked forward confidently to resuming it this morning.

I have said that we were friends in our earliest boyhood and in our latest manhood. But I may not forget, in justice to him, if not to myself, that there was a long interval during which our ways of life were quite apart, and our associations and sympathies interrupted. I am not aware, however, that we ever indulged in mutual reproaches for our different views of social or political or sectional questions. At any rate, we happily lived long enough to come back to a complete rejuvenescence of our old relations of cordial regard and friendship, and to find out that, after all, our views, of measures and of men, had not been so widely different as they seemed to have been, either to others or to ourselves. Certainly, there are few persons who had a higher appreciation of his sterling qualities of mind and heart than I had, or who more sincerely lament his loss, personally, socially, and as a most valuable member of this and many other associations. One could not but feel that he had capacities still unused, and that he had reached a vantage-ground where his great reading, his classical scholarship, his ready wit and racy humor and graceful pen, might have won new honors for himself, and accomplished valuable results, for biography or history, in our own or some other service.

But he had done enough to secure a pleasant and enduring remembrance of his name, as one of a family which has rarely been without a distinguished representative since the earliest Edmund Quincy came over to New England with John Cot-

ton in 1633. His little novel, "Wensley," was said by Whittier to be the most readable book of the kind since Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance*. His contributions to the anti-slavery press for many years were pungent and powerful. His *Life of his father*, prepared in co-operation with an accomplished sister,* will always have a place among our choicest American biographies, and it was fitly followed by a volume of his father's remarkable speeches in Congress. The little *Memoir of Charles Sprague* which he contributed to our own volumes of *Proceedings* will not be forgotten, nor his very recent *Lecture*, delivered in aid of the fund for the preservation of the Old South.

There is no room for repining on his own account, certainly, at the release of one, who had entered his seventieth year with such a record made up, more especially when that release came in a form which had often called forth from him expressions of envy, when it had been mercifully vouchsafed to others. Spared alike from the infirmities of age and from the pangs of disease, he was permitted to pass, without a struggle, from the things which are seen and temporal to the things which are unseen and eternal.

I have said, gentlemen, that we had a double loss to deplore to-day, and I turn to a brief notice of another.

The death of our distinguished associate, Motley, can hardly have taken many of us by surprise. Sudden at the moment of its occurrence, we had long been more or less prepared for it by his failing health. It must, indeed, have been quite too evident to those who had seen him, during the last two or three years, that his life-work was finished. I think he so regarded it himself.

Hopes may have been occasionally revived in the hearts of his friends, and even in his own heart, that his long-cherished purpose of completing a *History of the Thirty Years' War*, as the grand consummation of his historical labors,—for which all his other volumes seemed to him to have been but the preludes and overtures,—might still be accomplished. But such hopes, faint and flickering from his first attack, had well-nigh died away. They were like Prescott's hopes of completing his *Philip the Second*, or like Macaulay's hopes of finishing his brilliant *History of England*.

* Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, whose privately printed *Memoir of her mother*, and whose more recent republication of the *Life of her illustrious grandfather*, have been welcome additions to so many public and private libraries.

But great as may be the loss to literature of such a crowning work from Motley's pen, it was by no means necessary to the completeness of his own fame. His "Rise of the Dutch Republic," his "History of the United Netherlands," and his "Life of John of Barneveldt," had abundantly established his reputation, and given him a fixed place among the most eminent historians of our country and of our age.

No American writer, certainly, has secured a wider recognition or a higher appreciation from the scholars of the Old World. The Universities of England and the learned societies of Europe have bestowed upon him their largest honors. It happened to me to be in Paris when he was first chosen a corresponding member of the Institute, and when his claims were canvassed with the freedom and earnestness which peculiarly characterize such a candidacy in France. There was no mistaking the profound impression which his first work had made on the minds of such men as Guizot and Mignet. Within a year or two past a still higher honor has been awarded him from the same source. The journals not long ago announced his election as one of the six foreign associates of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, — a distinction which Prescott would probably have attained had he lived a few years longer, until there was a vacancy, but which, as a matter of fact, I believe, Motley was the only American writer, except the late Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, who has actually enjoyed.

Residing much abroad, for the purpose of pursuing his historical researches, he had become the associate and friend of the most eminent literary men in almost all parts of the world, and the singular charms of his conversation and manners had made him a favorite guest in the most refined and exalted circles.

Of his relations to political and public life, this is hardly the occasion or the moment for speaking in detail. Misconstructions and injustices are the proverbial lot of those who occupy eminent position. It was a duke of Vienna, if I remember rightly, whom Shakspeare, in his "Measure for Measure," introduces as exclaiming, —

O place and greatness, millions of false eyes
Are stuck upon thee! Volumes of report
Run with these false and most contrarious quests
Upon thy doings! Thousand 'scapes of wit
Make thee the father of their idle dream,
And rack thee in their fancies!

I forbear from all application of the lines. It is enough

for me, certainly, to say here, to-day, that our country was proud to be represented at the courts of Vienna and London successively by a gentleman of so much culture and accomplishment as Mr. Motley, and that the circumstances of his recall were deeply regretted by us all.

His fame, however, was quite beyond the reach of any such accidents, and could neither be enhanced or impaired by appointments or removals. As a powerful and brilliant Historian we pay him our unanimous tribute of admiration and regret, and give him a place in our memories by the side of Prescott and Irving. I do not forget how many of us lament him, also, as a cherished friend.

He died on the 29th ultimo, at the house of his daughter, Mrs. Sheridan, in Dorsetshire, England, and an impressive tribute to his memory was paid, in Westminster Abbey, on the following Sunday, by our Honorary Member, Dean Stanley. Such a tribute, from such lips, and with such surroundings, leaves nothing to be desired in the way of eulogy. He was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery, by the side of his beloved wife.

One might well say of Motley, precisely what he said of Prescott, in a letter from Rome to our associate, Mr. William Amory, immediately on hearing of Prescott's death: "I feel inexpressibly disappointed—speaking now for an instant purely from a literary point of view—that the noble and crowning monument of his life, for which he had laid such massive foundations, and the structure of which had been carried forward in such a grand and masterly manner, must remain uncompleted, like the unfinished peristyle of some stately and beautiful temple on which the night of time has suddenly descended. But, still, the works which his great and untiring hand had already thoroughly finished will remain to attest his learning and genius,—a precious and perpetual possession for his country."

I am authorized by the Council to offer the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That we have heard with sincere sorrow of the death of our valued Recording Secretary, Edmund Quincy, Esq., for whose ability and accomplishments we had learned to entertain the highest respect, and whose obliging disposition and genial temperament had endeared him to all with whom he was associated.

Resolved, That the President be requested to appoint one of our number to prepare a Memoir of our lamented friend for the next volume of our "Proceedings."

Resolved, That by the death of the Hon. John Lothrop Motley this Society has lost one of its most distinguished members, and American literature one of its brightest ornaments; a son of Massachusetts, who, in illustrating so powerfully the annals of another land, has reflected the highest honor on his own, and whose fame as an historian will ever be cherished among the treasures of his native State.

Resolved, That the President be requested to nominate one of our associates to prepare a Memoir of Mr. Motley.

PROFESSOR LOWELL'S REMARKS.

Professor JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL then said: —

MR. PRESIDENT, — You assign me a duty of whose danger you only are unconscious, in asking me to add any thing to the words of one who, by common consent, is a master in the perilous oratory of commemoration.

I had been so long in the habit of looking on Mr. Quincy in the single relation of friend, and in the reserve of domestic intercourse, that it needed an effort of reflection to make me conscious how much else he was, and at how many points he touched the world about him. He would gladly have verified Voltaire's favorite maxim, *bene vixit qui bene latuit*, yet his moral convictions, as was true also of the illustrious Frenchman, forced him into a publicity more conspicuous — one might almost say more obtrusive — than that of most public men. Early in life he devoted himself deliberately to the somewhat arduous profession of gentleman, and certainly in the practice of it he achieved as great success as is possible in a country where we have busyness in the blood, and where leisure is looked upon as the larceny of time that belongs to other people. But Mr. Quincy's leisure, if not a learned, was at least a lettered one, and he was always busy with one occupation or another that was not gainful. He was a scholar, in the old-fashioned sense of the word, which implied enjoyment rather than exactness, and was capable of forming life-long friendships with the classical authors of his own and other tongues. He was familiar with two at least of the modern languages, and kept up his Latin and Greek enough to be at home among the ancients. He had even acquired the new pronunciation of Latin, which is such a bother to some of us. I have just been looking over his letters to the "Anti-Slavery Standard," and have been much struck with the felicity of his quotations (a very delicate art), and with the

range and choice of reading which they implied. Those letters are a mine of information for the future historian of our local politics, and contain also curious little bits of social tradition and what may be called historical gossip. Those whose memories are shortened or obscured by present differences of politics will find recorded there the unselfish services of an eminent man, the third of a historic name, — services demanding more courage and self-sacrifice than when the righteous cause had a nation at its back and a nation's rewards at its disposal. Mr. Quincy's information on certain topics was both comprehensive and minute. I think he knew English society during the latter half of the last century better than Horace Walpole himself. I remember his once setting an Englishman of distinguished family right on some point of his own genealogy; and he knew London as he knew Boston. His story of "Wensley" will be more valued hereafter than it is now, as a picture of obsolete or obsolescent manners. In another field of literature, and one of the most difficult, he achieved a success that may be called eminent. His Life of his father, without disparagement of other excellent performances of the kind, seems to me clearly the best piece of biographical work that has been done in America, and worthy to rank with the best of other countries.

In character, he was cheerful, genial, and friendly. With a perfect recognition of all the exactions of conscience, he was as far as possible from being a fanatic. The letters of which I just spoke are always frank, often severe; but they are never ill-natured, and never overstep the boundaries of legitimate public criticism. You have spoken, sir, of his "philosophical composure." It did not spring from indifference, but had its root in a remarkable moral and personal courage. I have seen him, as chairman, confront an excited crowd (which an unwise word would have changed to a mob), with a high-bred good-humor that was the most efficient police. The closing days of his life were cheered by the hope of a more substantial union between the lately hostile sections of our country, a hope founded on a return by the administration to constitutional principles and rational methods. Though he had reached the limit of threescore and ten, yet that may be said of him which can be said of few, that he died prematurely, so much was he to his friends, so inexhausted the sources of his life, so ready was he for private duty and for public usefulness.

REMARKS OF WILLIAM AMORY.

WILLIAM AMORY, Esq., spoke as follows : —

I thank you cordially, Mr. President, for affording to me at this time the opportunity of paying the tribute of a few remarks to the memory of one whom I had so long known, loved, and honored as Mr. Motley ; and, though I may fail to do it in words suitable to the occasion, or satisfactory to myself, I am compelled by the promptings of my heart, not alone in silence to mingle my tears with those of the family and friends who mourn the loss of a father, brother, and friend, but to join also my voice with the voices of those who are gathered here to-day to deplore the loss and honor the memory of him who, as our associate, by his writings and character, has contributed so largely to elevate the reputation of this Society, to embellish the name of this community, and to reflect throughout the civilized world the lustre of his own name on the literature of his native country. Till about 1840 I personally knew little of Mr. Motley ; but since then our intimacy has been unbroken and our intercourse uninterrupted, except by his absence in Europe. The lapse of almost forty years since I first saw him has scarcely effaced from the freshness of my memory my first impression of the transparent nature and striking idiosyncrasies of his remarkable character, which made it easy to imagine the past, and not difficult to divine the future of his brilliant career. The expressive beauty of his face, the manly elegance of his person, his winning ways, his sparkling wit, and the irresistible charm of his conversation, all gave even then assurance of distinction and promise of fame in his riper years. A few years later, at about thirty, not inclined to the practice of the law, which he had studied partly as an accomplishment, partly as a possible means of support, and partly as a preparation for any other pursuit he might embrace as more congenial to his temperament or taste, he determined upon a literary career, and, as his genius, attainments, studies, and tastes inclined him thereto, he, fortunately for himself and the world, adopted history as a specialty, and selected "The Rise of the Dutch Republic" as the subject of his first historical work.

His brilliant success a few years later, on the publication of that book, showed how wisely he had chosen for his own reputation, for the honor of the republic whose history he

faithfully, picturesquely, and elegantly depicted, and for that of the republic at home, upon which he at once shed such glory as a writer. By this, his first history, published in London in 1856, he was raised by common consent at one bound to the front rank of illustrious historians in the English language, and by his subsequent works, though perhaps less attractive to the general reader, he has sustained the reputation he at that time acquired.

With a few of his friends in this country, I was favored with the privilege of a perusal of those volumes before they were published in England; and, though already entertaining a high appreciation of his genius and powers, I was inexpressibly surprised at the eloquence of the style, the interest of the narrative, the variety, aptitude, and brilliancy of the illustrations, and the life-like fidelity of the portraits of the chief actors in that wonderful historical drama, but above all by the untiring industry and diligent research displayed throughout in procuring, preparing, and using so ably such copious materials from such various sources. Three years after its publication, in 1859, Mr. Motley, on hearing of the death of W. H. Prescott, his friend and brother historian, wrote from Rome a long letter, containing a very interesting account of an interview he had sought with Mr. Prescott about twelve years before, in relation to the subject of the rise of the Dutch republic. That letter was read by Mr. Sears at a meeting of this Society, holden in April, 1859, and recorded in full on page 266 of the published "Proceedings" of 1858-60. Though too long to be read here, it is so touching and beautiful a letter, and so creditable and honorable to both Mr. Motley and Mr. Prescott, that I have ventured to allude to it for the benefit of such members of this Society as have either forgotten or never seen it, and to whom at this moment it may have a peculiar interest, if they possess the volume of the "Proceedings" referred to. The subject of the letter may be briefly stated thus: About 1846, Mr. Motley had collected materials and made preparations to write "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," ignorant of the fact that Mr. Prescott had still earlier also made still larger preparations to write the "History of Philip II." As, in writing upon subjects so closely identified in time and events, it was obvious that Mr. Motley must often traverse the same ground occupied by Mr. Prescott, he determined, when informed by a friend of Mr. Prescott's intention, to go to him and confer with him on the subject; and, if he should find that Mr. Prescott had a shadow of objection to his proceeding with his history, to

abandon it at once, though already so enamoured of the subject he had selected that it was to him, as he said, like surrendering his historical career. He did so, was most kindly received, and cordially encouraged to proceed with the work at once by Mr. Prescott, who, at the same time, generously volunteered to offer any aid in his power and the free use of his library.

Such is the summary of the purpose and result of that interview; but to realize the sacrifice which the young aspirant to authorship was ready to make to a nice sense of honor and courtesy to the perhaps doubtful priority of the conventional claim of one with whom at that time he was only slightly acquainted, or to appreciate the genuine gratitude and pleasure inspired by the cordial aid and generous encouragement offered him by Mr. Prescott, it is necessary to read the letter itself.

I have, Mr. President, perhaps dwelt too long on this subject; but the temptation to present in one picture, and to illustrate by one anecdote, the different, but equally beautiful, traits of character exhibited in the same story by the two most illustrious historians of this country must be my excuse.

You may well be proud, sir, that during your presidency of the Massachusetts Historical Society the names of Prescott and Motley, both your associates, have been enrolled by universal consent in the same rank with those of Hume, Gibbon, and Robertson, of the eighteenth century, and Hallam and Macaulay, of the nineteenth; and it is worth recording on the same page that these friends and brother historians of the same subject were natives of the same State, citizens of the same city, graduates of the same college, equally remarkable for their personal beauty and the charms of their manners, published their first histories at the same time of life, and died in precisely the same manner, at about the same age. With more time, it would be gratifying to compare and contrast those elements of moral, intellectual, and social character, which, though so different in each of these distinguished men, contributed so equally to the charms and celebrity of both in the world of letters and in the society of the world; but it is too late, and I am conscious that already I have encroached upon the ground of his literary friends, instead of confining myself to those social and domestic beauties of his character, so much richer in interest and materials, and upon which I am so much better authority. One of these attributes, and, as I think, the most prominent

and characteristic of all, was the tender affectionateness of his nature, which, within the small circle of his home and friends, was irresistibly winning, and which, though less known to the outside world, pervaded his whole being, and was often the hidden source of that magnetism and fascination which captivated all, and won for him hosts of friends and admirers wherever he was known.

His ready and deep sympathy in the hour of sorrow or affliction, as indicated by the tones of his voice, the expression of his face, or the simple eloquence of his words, will be long remembered by many. Passing by that greatest and last domestic affliction, which made his home so desolate and his life so sad for the last two years, as too recent and sacred to be more than glanced at, I recall that agony of grief occasioned many years before by the sudden and shocking death of his nearest and dearest friend, Mr. Stackpole. Mr. Motley, for a while at that time a near neighbor of mine, spent every afternoon with me on my piazza at Longwood; and I shall never forget the touching words and manner in which he bewailed his loss in all the variety of thought and language which death and friendship could suggest, and with all the eloquence of an "In Memoriam." He could think and talk of nothing else. Subdued and softened by his sorrow, he seemed an altered man, and in the tenderness of his grief he was more like a mother weeping for an only child than a strong man mourning the loss even of his dearest friend. How easy it would be, Mr. President, to select from a character so rich in its endless variety many other equally interesting peculiarities, and to illustrate them by similar reminiscences, no one can imagine without a familiar acquaintance with the incidents of his life, and a nice appreciation of those fine impulses of his nature which have shaped his career; and this can be fitly done only by the eloquent pen of a biographer who has known him from his youth.

I have made no allusion to Mr. Motley's diplomatic career, which, but for circumstances beyond his control and not attributable to any fault of his, might have been as distinguished as his career as a writer, because I am sure that, to all who knew him, or the history of the termination of his missions to Vienna and London, any defence of *him certainly*, on either side of the water, would be entirely superfluous.

DR. HOLMES'S REMARKS.

The President now called on Dr. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, who said : —

The thoughts which suggest themselves upon this occasion are such as belong to the personal memories of the dear friends whom we have lost, rather than to their literary labors, the just tribute to which must wait for a calmer hour than the present, following so closely as it does on our bereavement.

To those of us who remember Mr. Motley during his last visit to this country, his death, though it was a blow to many lingering hopes, was hardly a surprise. But if we go back a few more years, and recall him as he appeared at our meeting of November, 1868, he comes before us with the promise of a long afternoon and evening to a life which was still in the brightness of its intellectual meridian. It fell to him on that occasion to speak before us of his friend, the late Dean Milman, and I am sure that not one of those who listened to him can forget the effect his words and his presence produced upon all who were gathered around him.

He stood before us, a scholar speaking of a man of letters, and his words had the fitness, the balance, the flow, which belong to an imperial master of language. He was speaking of one who was, as he said, "his life long a conspicuous ornament of the most cultivated society of London and of England"; and here was in his own person and address that harmonious union of rare qualities which all the world over is the master-key that opens every door, the countersign that passes every sentinel, the unsealed letter of introduction to all the highest circles of the highest civilization. Scholars are frequently forgetful of the outward graces which commend the man of the world to social favor. Here was a scholar who, to say the least, had rivalled the most robust and patient of our workers in drudgery, who had ploughed through manuscripts without number, whose crabbed characters and uncouth phrases might well have tried Champollion's temper; yet here was a man of such natural graces and such distinguished bearing, that he seemed to belong rather to the gilded saloon than to the dusty library.

Let me touch briefly upon a few periods in his life. I remember him as a handsome, spirited-looking boy at Harvard College, where, at the early age of thirteen, he joined

the class two years after my own, graduating in 1831. He was probably the youngest student in college, said to be as bright as he looked, and with the reputation of a remarkable talent for learning languages. Two years make a wide gulf in college life, and my intercourse with him was less frequent than at a later period. I recollect him in those earlier days as vivacious, attractive, brilliant, with such a lustre of promise about him as belonged to hardly any other of my own date, and after it, in my four years' college experience, if I perhaps except William Sturgis, whom a swift summons called from our side in all the beauty of his early youth. Motley was more nearly the ideal of a young poet than any boy — for he was only a boy as yet — who sat on the benches of the college chapel. In after years, one who knew Lord Byron most nearly noted his resemblance to that great poet, and spoke of it to one of my friends; but in our young days many pretty youths affected that resemblance, and were laughed at for their pains, so that if Motley recalled Byron's portrait, it was only because he could not help it. His finely shaped and expressive features; his large, luminous eyes; his dark, waving hair; the singularly spirited set of his head, which was most worthy of note for its shapely form and poise; his well-outlined figure, — gave promise of his manly beauty, and commended him to those even who could not fully appreciate the richer endowments of which they were only the outward signature. How often such gifts and promises disappoint those who count upon their future we who have seen the November of so many Aprils know too well. But with every temptation to a life of pleasant self-indulgence, flattery and the love of luxury could not spoil him. None knew better what they meant. "Give me the luxuries, and I will dispense with the necessities, of life," was a playful saying of his, which is one of the three wittiest things that have been said in Boston in our time, and which, I think, has not been fairly claimed for any other wit of any period.

Soon after graduation, Motley left this country for Germany, where he studied two years longer in the universities of Berlin and Gottingen. I myself was absent from the country when he returned, and only renewed an acquaintance, which then grew to intimacy with him, after my own return from a residence in Europe, at the end of the year 1835. He was at that time just entering upon the practice of law, the profession which he had studied, but in the labors of which he never became very seriously engaged.

His first literary venture of any note was the story called

"Morton's Hope; or, the Memoirs of a Provincial." This first effort failed to satisfy the critics, the public, or himself. His personality pervaded the characters and times which he portrayed, so that there was a discord between the actor and his costume. Brilliant passages could not save it; and it was plain enough that he must ripen into something better before the world would give him the reception which surely awaited him if he should find his true destination.

The early failures of a great writer are like the first sketches of a great artist, and well reward patient study. More than this, the first efforts of poets and story-tellers are very commonly palimpsests; beneath the rhymes or the fiction one can almost always spell out the characters which betray the writer's self. Take these passages from the story just referred to:—

"Ah! flattery is a sweet and intoxicating potion, whether we drink it from an earthen ewer or a golden chalice. . . . Flattery from man to woman is expected: it is a part of the courtesy of society; but when the divinity descends from the altar to burn incense to the priest, what wonder if the idolater should feel himself transformed into a god!"

He had run the risk of being spoiled, but he had a safeguard in his aspirations.

"My ambitious anticipations," says Morton, in the story, "were as boundless as they were various and conflicting. There was not a path which leads to glory in which I was not destined to gather laurels. As a warrior, I would conquer and overrun the world; as a statesman, I would reorganize and govern it; as a historian, I would consign it all to immortality; and, in my leisure moments, I would be a great poet and a man of the world."

Who can doubt that in this passage of his story he is picturing his own visions, one of the fairest of which was destined to become reality?

But there was another element in his character, which those who knew him best recognized as one with which he had to struggle hard, — that is, a modesty which sometimes tended to collapse into self-distrust. This, too, betrays itself in the sentences which follow those just quoted:—

"In short," says Morton, "I was already enrolled in that large category of what are called young men of genius, . . . men of whom unheard-of things are expected; till after long preparation comes a portentous failure, and then they are forgotten. . . . Alas! for the golden

imaginations of our youth. . . . They are all disappointments. They are bright and beautiful, but they fade."

Mr. Motley's diplomatic experience began with his appointment as Secretary of Legation to the American Embassy to Russia, in 1840, — a position which he held for a few months only, and then returned to this country.

In 1845, he wrote an article on Peter the Great for the "North American Review," which suggested to many of his friends that, though he had not taken the place as a novelist he might have hoped for, there was in him the stronger fibre of an historian. He did not, however, give up the idea of succeeding in his earlier field of effort; and in 1849 he published his second story, — "Merry-Mount, a Romance of the Massachusetts Colony"; which again, with all its merits of style and its brilliancy of description, was found wanting in some of the qualities demanded by an historical novel, and settled the question for him that his genius was not in every way adapted to that kind of composition. The truth was, he could not divest himself of his personality and lose his individual character in that of his own creations. It will be noticed, that, while his first story turned on the adventures of an individual, his second story came much nearer to the complexion of a true history. It was at about this uncertain period of his career that a friend of his found him at work one day with a Dutch folio and a dictionary of that language. On being asked what he was doing with those uninviting books, he spoke of his turning his studies in the direction of history. "I must break myself on something," he said.

What came of the studies which began with that Dutch dictionary you all know, the whole literary world knows, and I need not recite the story. Neither will I take up your time with criticisms upon those noble works, which have passed their ordeal, and stand among the foremost contributions of the New World to the literature of the Old. The personal enthusiasm which gives a glow to every page, the inborn love of freedom, the generous sympathy with all that is lofty, and the passionate scorn of all that is petty and base, the richness of his descriptions, the vigor of his portraits, — to speak of these is to repeat the commonplaces of all our literary tribunals. I cannot refrain from adding a single thought which I do not remember having met with.

The sturdy little State of Holland — a nation with a population comparable for numbers with that of the city of London — offers itself to too many English and American minds

with the unheroic aspect in which the Dutchman has been presented in the satirical verse of Marvell, and the ludicrous travesty of Irving. We cannot keep the pictures and figures of Diedrich Knickerbocker out of our fancies when we think of a Hollander. Mr. Graham, the English historian of the United States, complains that Mr. Irving "has by anticipation ridiculed my topic and parodied my narrative." We can still smile, or laugh, as Sir Walter Scott did, over the extravagances of our great American humorist; but it remained for an American historian to assert the true dignity of the valiant people who conquered an empire from the waves, and rescued it from the tyranny of still more lawless masters. The world can forgive all the playful mischief of the satirist so long as it contemplates the majestic figure of William the Silent, and reads the story of the defence of Leyden, the record of John of Barneveldt, and the romantic episode of Hugo Grotius in the pages of Motley.

I shall not do more than allude to the further diplomatic career of our honored associate. I know that it ended in disappointment, and a feeling that a great wrong had been done him. But I know, also, that his highest office was undertaken with a profound sense of responsibility; that its duties were discharged as faithfully as he knew how to perform them; and that, whatever sting was left by the manner in which he had been dealt with, there was no poison of self-reproach to rankle in the wound. Those who will search curiously enough in the "Life of John of Barneveldt" will discover at least one passage in which the writer's own violated sensibilities find an expression in the record of another's grievance, — the natural device by which men and women of all ages have sought relief: —

"Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κίθε' ἐκάστη."

I do not believe that the violence which reached the nervous centres of Sumner's life told with more fatal effect than the rude shock of his sudden recall from England upon the proud and excitable spirit of Motley, and through his sensibilities on the organ of thought, from the internal laceration of which he died.

A slight attack — hardly serious enough in its effects to be called paralytic — interrupted the literary labors which he had resumed after the close of his diplomatic career. His speech never seems to have been affected, and his handwriting showed no remarkable change, though he complained of weight and weakness of the right side, and found it a con-

siderable effort to write. He was slowly regaining something of his usual health and spirits, when the death, in December, 1874, of the lovely and noble woman who had made the happiness of his life, cast the deep shadow over him which was never lifted. He passed the summer which followed his bereavement in this country, where for some weeks I saw him daily, and under those conditions which revealed his inmost nature more completely than I had ever known it in my long intimacy with him. He appeared to have forgotten all lesser trials in the one great sorrow which had left his life so nearly desolate. One thought, one feeling, seemed ever present; an undercurrent which betrayed itself not by unmanly signs of weakness, but by the tenderness and the reverence to which the memory of her from whom he had been parted saddened and subdued every accent. The language in which he spoke of his wife was the highest tribute to womanhood that ever found words on living lips in my hearing. And not to womanhood, not to that noble woman alone, for they revealed the passionate intensity of his own loving nature, and showed us better than we ever understood before what was his peculiar underlying charm, and why we who loved him had loved him with such strong affection.

But time has anodynes for griefs it cannot cure, and his letters showed that he was doing his best to bear his burden of sorrow, and that the affection of those who were left him was not without its healing influences. He had even hoped to be able to do something more in the way of literary labor, when suddenly, on the 29th of May, without any immediate warning, the thread by which his fate hung over him parted. The summons, though at an unexpected moment, might have been looked for at any time. The stroke fell like a blow on the already suffering organ through which his untiring intellect had wrought its vast and exhausting labors. "It has come!" he said; and, after a few hours of unconscious life in death, he passed quietly away.

He leaves all his uncounted honors, which I need not try to enumerate; he leaves the unblazoned record of a social career, hardly rivalled for the brilliancy of its success; his works, sacred to heroism, the spirit of freedom and humanity, are his monument; and, amidst the sorrowing tears of those who dearly loved him, in many lands and in every station of life, from the lowliest to the loftiest, he is laid by the side of her from whom he would not have been parted in death, to sleep in the mausoleum of a nation surrounded by the sepulchres of those who have made her history.

MR. WATERSTON'S REMARKS.

The Rev. R. C. WATERSTON then said, —

It is a pleasant thought, Mr. President, to remember that the two members whom we to-day commemorate were personal friends. I have here a brief letter from Mr. Motley to Mr. Quincy, — the last letter which Mr. Quincy ever received from him, — written in pencil, from Nahant, during his last visit to this country. It may have some interest at this moment.

MY DEAR QUINCY, — Many thanks for your kind words of remembrance, and for your Memoir of Charles Sprague. I perfectly remember our visit to the venerable poet, and am highly gratified that he should have been pleased by it. I have read your Memoir with much interest and sympathy, and should think it a very just, and not in the least an over-appreciative, tribute to his delicate genius and genuine and honorable character.

There are a good many lines of his poetry which I can repeat now, and could do ever since I was a sophomore. I hope to see you in Boston before I leave, which will be in October, as people seem to decide that the winter here will be too severe for me.

Pray excuse my illegible pencilling, but it is very hard work for me to write.

I am your sincere friend,

J. L. MOTLEY.

Mr. WATERSTON continued: Mr. Motley, after the publication of his "Merry-Mount," expressed his regret to Mr. Quincy that it had met with so little success. Mr. Quincy replied: "Motley, turn your attention to history. Your style is admirably adapted to that, and every power of your mind would there find ample scope, and the result, I am sure, would meet with success." "Do you think so?" he said. "I feel certain of your perfect triumph in that field," continued Mr. Quincy. It is pleasant to think that these life-long friends went so nearly together. United in their lives, in their death they were not divided.

REMARKS OF PROFESSOR EVERETT.

Professor WILLIAM EVERETT then spoke as follows: —

There is one incident, sir, in Mr. Motley's career that has not been mentioned to-day, which is, perhaps, most vividly remembered by those of us who were in Europe at the out-

break of our civil war in 1861. At that time, the ignorance of Englishmen, friendly or otherwise, about America, was infinite: they knew very little of us, and that little wrong. Americans were overwhelmed with questions, taunts, threats, misrepresentations, the outgrowth of ignorance, and ignoring worse than ignorance, from every class of Englishmen. Never was an authoritative exposition of our hopes and policy worse needed; and there was no one to do it. The outgoing diplomatic agents represented a by-gone order of things; the representatives of Mr. Lincoln's administration had not come. At that time of anxiety, Mr. Motley, living in England as a private person, came forward with two letters in the "Times," which set forth the cause of the United States once and for all. No unofficial, and few official, men could have spoken with such authority, and been so certain of obtaining a hearing from Englishmen. Thereafter, amid all the clouds of falsehood and ridicule which we had to encounter, there was one lighthouse fixed on a rock to which we could go for foothold, from which we could not be driven, and against which all assaults were impotent.

There can be no question that the effect produced by these letters helped, if help had been needed, to point out Mr. Motley as a candidate for high diplomatic place who could not be overlooked. Their value was recognized alike by his fellow-citizens in America and his admirers in England; but none valued them more than the little band of exiles, who were struggling against terrible odds, and who rejoiced with a great joy to see the stars and stripes, whose centennial anniversary those guns are now celebrating, planted by a hand so truly worthy to rally every American to its support.

But I rose chiefly, sir, to mention a trait in Mr. Quincy's life which greatly endeared him to a body of young men whom I have the honor to represent, the young classical teachers of Harvard College. Mr. Quincy in the last two years acted as chairman of the committee of the Overseers to visit the recitations and other college exercises. This is always an invidious task, and the visitors rarely suit the fastidious self-consciousness of the young instructors: they always seem to know either too much or too little for the place. Mr. Quincy hit exactly the happy medium. He made an habitual practice of coming into the class-rooms of teachers who might have been his sons. There his enthusiastic Old World scholarship, so appropriately alluded to by Mr. Lowell, flowed as naturally as possible into one channel with the scholarship of

the young teachers, which claims to be so accurate, and perhaps only succeeds in being dry. He was so loyal to his old loves, the ancient writers, so kind and ready to listen to our new theories, so frank and strong for himself, so cordial and appreciative to us, that we always delighted to see him in the recitation-room. We felt that with him to report of us we were sure of a due mention of those exertions which we are making, sometimes, we fear, under heavy disadvantages, for the cause of scholarship. He seemed like one of ourselves: we could hardly believe the triennial, and were more ready to think that twenty-seven was his age than his class; and it is a sad privilege to us to testify, in the name of the young teachers of Harvard College, what a place he will have in their memory.

REMARKS OF MR. WINSLOW WARREN.*

MR. PRESIDENT, — No language of mine can add force to those fit and eloquent words that have portrayed, with the affection he never failed to inspire, the strength, the simplicity, and the beauty of the character of our deceased associate, Edmund Quincy. But while many of you can speak of him as he was in earlier years, and in a more active sphere of duty, I recall him more as a near neighbor and friend, — a man in whom the spirit of neighborliness existed as in days of old-time hospitality, who was ready at all hours to greet you with a warmth and heartiness that made it a delight to enter his doors, and whose cultivated mind ever drew from its rich stores to make the passing hour one of deep enjoyment.

In him we saw the scholar who was not a recluse; the man of refinement and gentleness who could buffet the storms of prejudice and passion in defence of a high principle, and retain a serene, cheerful spirit, unmarred by any taint of bitterness or cynicism; a man who, ever youthful in spirit, dwelt with fondness upon the days gone by, and upon that ancestral line so linked with the glories of the past.

I can think of him only as one of my *youngest* friends, for certainly he never seemed to grow old in years. While he grew in intellectual force and in the knowledge of all that was richest and best in classic literature, and fostered such growth with persistent study, the shadow of seventy sum-

* These remarks, for want of time, were not delivered as intended: but Mr. Warren has kindly consented to allow them to be inserted among the proceedings of the meeting. — Eds.

mers never crept over the youthfulness of his spirits; and, however young the company he might be with, his laugh was the heartiest, and his wit the keenest.

His familiarity with the English poets and novelists, and with the Greek and Latin classics, was most remarkable, and his aptness at quotation gave the point to many a joke and the pith to many an argument. His loved Horace was the constant companion of his travels; and he daily made it his duty and his pleasure to store his memory with passages of favorite authors. There upon his dressing-table lay, after his death, the well-worn Shakspeare, open to the very page which he had studied ere he set out that last bright morning for the classic halls of Cambridge, which he loved as intensely as his own beautiful home.

To a small community like that in which he dwelt, the loss of such genial courtesy and such ripe scholarship is indeed immeasurable; and when we see combined with these an untarnished life, perfect integrity of character, and conscientious devotion to high principle, we feel that the vacant place would remain unfilled but for the certainty that such an influence leaves its impression upon those who are encouraged and inspired by his example.

The more active duties of citizenship possessed but few attractions for him: though interested, and always informed upon the questions of the day, whether of local or national importance, he chose to leave to others the more public administration of affairs, loving better, as one of his favorite poets says,

"To behold the bright countenance of truth
In the quiet, still air of his delightful studies."

It was, then, with peculiar pleasure to him and to them that he consented to deliver to his townsmen his interesting lecture upon the "Colonial Times," and, a few hours as it were before his most unexpected death, renewed his acquaintance with his friends and neighbors in what became to them his parting words.

It was my good fortune to be present that evening, as well as to meet him at my own house after its delivery, and, in common with all who knew him, to remark how buoyant was his step, how lightly the weight of increasing years seemed to bear upon his strong physique, and how radiant were his spirits. In my whole acquaintance with him, I remember no time when he seemed more full of health and happiness, nor when his wit was more sparkling.

Those closing words yet echoed in the air, his graphic and fascinating portrayal still lingered in our minds, when we heard that he had been suddenly called to the company of those with whom even in life he had almost seemed to dwell.

His life was happy, his death was happier still. He was permitted by an all-wise Providence to reach the portals of his own loved home, and there, in the loveliness of the summer afternoon, serenely, peacefully, with no suggestion of pain or suffering, the silver cord was loosed that bound him so strongly to what was beautiful in this life.

Remarks were also made by the Rev. S. K. LOTHROP, D.D., and the resolutions were unanimously adopted, all the members rising. The President appointed Professor Lowell to write the Memoir of Mr. Quincy, and Dr. Holmes that of Mr. Motley, for the Society's "Proceedings."

The President read the following extract from a letter from our Honorary Member, Mr. Grigsby, relative to the death of Mr. Quincy:—

"I have just received from Miss Quincy the Boston 'Daily Advertiser' of the 19th ultimo, announcing the death of her brother Edmund. This was to me a very unexpected event. His disposition seemed so pleasant and attractive, and his faculties were so active, that I had no association of death or of suffering with his person or character. His departure was indeed sudden. I had anticipated seeing him and visiting him, in compliance with his kind invitation, should I ever again 'in the course of human events' reach the shores of New England; but that possibility, like so many others, is now gone for ever. I have now arrived at that time of life when almost all my friends who leave me are my juniors in years. Mr. Quincy himself was my junior. I feel most keenly for his excellent sister, Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, and have written to her a line of sympathy in her sad and most sudden bereavement."

The President read the following letter from Miss E. S. Quincy:—

QUINCY, Mass., May 5, 1877.

To the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, President of the
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

DEAR SIR,—As the gorget of General Washington has been safely returned from the Centennial Exhibition, at Philadelphia, I now relinquish its guardianship, which I have held since 1823, and which

my father empowered me to retain through life,* — with my best wishes for its safety, and for the prosperity of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Respectfully yours,

ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY.

The President said it would be observed that the note of Miss Quincy bore date *May 5th*, and he read, in explanation, the interesting private note by which it was accompanied, as follows: —

QUINCY, Mass., June 6, 1877.

Hon. R. C. WINTHROP.

DEAR SIR, — I intended that the enclosed note should be presented to you at the last meeting of your Society, and when I regretted its accidental detention, my brother Edmund said, "Never mind, I will hand it to Mr. Winthrop at our next meeting in June." Alas, I little anticipated how soon that hand would be withdrawn! I cannot yet realize that my brother has passed from among us, and entered, as we may hope, into the society of the gifted intelligences, in which, while yet with us, he loved to dwell. To me his loss is irreparable. We participated in the same antiquarian and historic tastes, and worked together in the Life of my father. But when I remember that I have enjoyed his companionship for almost seventy years, from infancy to age, I feel that I have more cause for gratitude than for sorrow, as the separation cannot be long.

Very sincerely yours,

ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY.

It was *Voted*, That the grateful acknowledgment of the Society be presented to Miss Quincy by the President for her generous resignation to our Cabinet of this precious gorget.

The President also read the following interesting unpublished letter of Washington, from a copy sent to him by the owner of the original, dated two days after his commission had been signed as Commander-in-Chief of the American army: —

PHILADELPHIA, June 19, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — I am now embarked on a tempestuous ocean, from whence perhaps no friendly harbour is to be found. I have been called upon by the unanimous voice of the Colonies to the command of the Continental army. It is an honour I by no means aspired to. It is an honour I wished to avoid, as well from an unwillingness to

* The late Hon. Josiah Quincy bequeathed the gorget of Washington to the Massachusetts Historical Society by his last will, with the proviso that it might remain in the custody of his daughter, Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, during her life. For a history of this interesting relic, and of the way in which Mr. Quincy came into possession of it, see a statement, prepared by Mr. Quincy himself, in the Proceedings of the Society for April, 1858, pp. 45, 46. — Eds.

quit the peaceful enjoyment of my Family, as from a thorough conviction of my own Incapacity & want of experience in the conduct of so momentous a concern; but the partiality of the Congress, added to some political motives, left me without a choice. May God grant, therefore, that my acceptance of it, may be attended with some good to the common cause, & without injury (from want of knowledge) to my own reputation. I can answer but for three things: a firm belief of the justice of our cause, close attention in the prosecution of it, and the strictest Integrity. If these cannot supply the place of ability & Experience, the cause will suffer, & more than probable my character along with it, as reputation derives its principal support from success; but it will be remembered, I hope, that no desire or insinuation of mine placed me in this situation. I shall not be deprived, therefore, of a comfort in the worst event, if I retain a consciousness of having acted to the best of my judgment.

I am at liberty to tell you that the Congress, in committee (which will I dare say be agreed to when reported), have consented to a Continental Currency, and have ordered two million of dollars to be struck for payment of the Troops and other expenses arising from our defence, as also that 15,000 men are voted as a Continental army, which will I daresay be augmented as more Troops are embarked & Imbarking for America than was expected at the time of passing that vote. As to other articles of Intelligence I must refer you to the Gazette, as the Printers pick up every thing that is stirring in that way. The other Officers in the higher departments are not yet fixed, therefore I cannot give you their names. I set out to-morrow for Boston, where I shall always be glad to hear from you. My best wishes attend Mrs. Bassett, Mrs. Dandridge, & all our relations & friends. In great haste, as I have many letters to write, and other business to do, I remain with the sincerest regards, Dear Sir,

Y^r most Obed^t & Affect. H^ble serv^t,

G. WASHINGTON.

P. S. — I must entreat you & Mrs. Bassett if possible to visit at Mt. Vernon, as also my wife's other friends. I could wish you to take her down, as I have no expectation of returning till winter & feel great uneasiness at her lonesome situation. I have sent my Chariot & Horses back.*

The President presented, in the name of the Rev. Robert Horwood, of Holmwood Cottage, Turvey, Bedford, England, a copy of the Bishop's Bible, sometimes called Parker's Bible.

* This copy was sent to the President of the Society by a lady of Fredericksburg, Va., who says, in the enclosure, under date of May 28, 1877, "I take the liberty of enclosing to your address a copy of an autograph letter of General Washington. It was presented to me thirty-six years ago by his great-niece. I had it placed in a walnut frame, with heavy plate-glass on either side, and it has not undergone the slightest change in that time. It was written to his brother-in-law, Burrell Bassett, Esq., at Eltham, in New Kent County, Va." — Eds.

It was originally printed by R. Jugge, in folio, 1568. This copy was printed in 1575. Its covers were made of thick, hard-wood boards; the clasps formerly attached to them being gone. The thanks of the Society were unanimously ordered for this acceptable gift.

The Treasurer, Mr. C. C. SMITH, offered the following vote, as a substitute for that which he proposed at the last meeting, which was unanimously adopted:—

Voted, That the Treasurer be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to add to the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund the annual income thereof until the principal and the accumulated interest, together with any gifts or legacies to the Society for that purpose, shall amount to the sum of \$10,000; and that thereafter the Society will annually appropriate the income of said fund in the manner prescribed in the Declaration of Trust of the late Hon. David Sears, dated Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society, Nov. 8, 1855.

It was voted to omit the meetings of the Society for the months of July, August, and September, the President and Secretary to have the power to call a special meeting at any time during this period, either in town or country.

Justin Winsor, Esq., Superintendent of the Boston Public Library, was elected a Resident Member.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated a letter from Francis Parkman, Esq., resigning his place on the Council of the Society, his duties as a member of the Corporation of Harvard College preventing his attendance on the meetings of the Council.

Voted, To accept of Mr. Parkman's resignation.

Mr. APPLETON presented a new volume, printed last year in Paris, entitled "George Washington . . . Histoire de la Nouvelle France et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique au xviii Siècle par Alphonse Jouault."

Voted, That the members who constituted the last Nominating Committee serve as a committee to nominate a candidate for Recording Secretary, and for a member of the Council in place of Mr. Parkman, who has resigned, and report at the next stated meeting of the Society.

On motion of Mr. GEORGE B. EMERSON, it was

Voted, That the commemorative proceedings of this meeting be printed.

The President desired to call attention to a most interesting volume on our table this morning, "A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, written in the year 1584, by Richard Hakluyt."

"This Discourse, originally written 'at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull Mr. Walter Raghly, now Knight,' is now printed for the first time from a contemporary manuscript, which was fortunately obtained from the collection of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, at Cheltenham, England, by our Honorary Member, Dr. Leonard Woods, late President of Bowdoin College. It is now published, with an Introduction, principally by President Woods, as the second volume of a new series of the Collections of the Maine Historical Society. But we do no injustice to our sister Society of Maine, in recognizing with peculiar gratification the use they have been privileged to make of the labors and learning of our own accomplished Secretary, Dr. DEANE, by whom the volume has been carefully edited and elaborately annotated. In every point of view, this volume has a more than common interest and value for historical students, and more especially for us whose lives have been cast in that 'Norumbega' region of whose discovery and planting it treats.

"We may well congratulate the Maine Historical Society on having brought it out so handsomely at last, after so many delays and discouragements. The failure of Dr. Woods's health, and the destruction of his library by fire, seemed likely at one time to postpone the publication indefinitely. We must all rejoice that he has been permitted to see of the fruit of his labors, and to witness the accomplishment of his long-deferred hopes, while still able to appreciate the importance of such a contribution to New England history. I am sure this Society will unite with me in offering our thanks both to him, and to Mr. DEANE, for so acceptable a work."

OCTOBER MEETING, 1877.

The stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, after a vacation of four months; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read his list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The President desired here to call particular attention to the gift to the Library by Colonel Perraud, a nephew by marriage of our associate member Mr. Nathaniel Thayer, and lately a distinguished officer in the naval engineer service of France, of a complete series of the French Official Journal from January, 1870, to September, 1877, covering a most important period of the recent history of France.

The thanks of the Society were unanimously ordered to be returned to Colonel Perraud for this acceptable donation.

The President also alluded to the new work of Mr. Parkman, "Frontenac," of which a copy was on the table, presented by the author.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Justin Winsor, Esq., elected a Resident Member.

The President now spoke of the decease during the summer of a Corresponding Member—the Hon. George T. Davis, of Portland—as follows:—

At our November meeting, in 1871, a letter was read from the Hon. George T. Davis, who had been one of our associate members for thirteen years, announcing that he had become a permanent resident of Portland, in the State of Maine, and had thus, according to our rules, ceased to be a member of this Society.

At our monthly meeting in the February following, Mr. Davis, having been nominated in January, was elected one of our Corresponding Members, and continued such until his death in June last. His contributions to our work had not been numerous. In April, 1869, he communicated a journal of a tour made by his uncle, Samuel Davis, in 1789; and in May following, a brief Memoir of another uncle, the late excellent Isaac P. Davis, so long our Cabinet-keeper. In the following May, he made a longer and very interesting communication on the "St. Regis Bell," in which he furnished abundant reasons for discrediting the old story of the

Deerfield church-bell having been carried off by the Indians, in 1704, to be hung in an Indian church at St. Regis.

He has left no other trace, I believe, on our records, except that of an occasional presence at our meetings. Yet we had few more interested, sympathetic, or loyal members, nor one whom we should have been more sure to meet whenever we assembled, had not his residences, alike in Maine and in Massachusetts, been so remote from Boston. And, certainly, there was no one whose presence was more heartily welcome to us all.

Mr. Davis was the son of Wendell Davis, Esq., one of the sons of that Thomas Davis of Plymouth, who was the father, also, of our late President, Judge John Davis, and of our late Cabinet-keeper, Isaac P Davis, as well as of Thomas, the old Treasurer and Receiver-general of the Commonwealth, of William, and of Samuel, the Antiquary. No family has done more, if any so much, towards illustrating the history of the Plymouth Pilgrims. They seemed always the chosen guardians of the Rock and its sacred memories, and no one could meet them without thinking and talking of the "Mayflower."

Mr. George T. Davis, our lamented friend, was born in Sandwich, not far from Plymouth, on the 12th of January, 1810; was graduated at Harvard with the distinguished class of 1829; was admitted to the bar in 1832; was a member of the Senate of Massachusetts in 1839 and 1840, and a Representative in Congress from the Connecticut River District from 1851 to 1853.

He resided in Greenfield, in the County of Franklin, for the greater part of his life, and until, on his second marriage, he recently removed to Portland, Maine. The law was his chosen profession, and he devoted himself to the practice of that profession assiduously and successfully. Now and then he made good speeches at political meetings. Now and then he delivered good addresses at agricultural or other festivals. But he had no particular taste for public efforts or appearances, except in the line of his profession.

It is as a great reader, and a singularly agreeable and entertaining converser, that he will be longest remembered by all who had the good fortune to enjoy his friendship. He was eminently a wit, in the sense in which that word was used in good old Queen Anne's time. He had an eager eye for every thing quaint and racy. He had Thackeray's and Dickens's works almost by heart, and was well acquainted with their authors during their visits to this country. But Boswell and Johnson and Goldsmith and Sterne and Swift,

and all the great wits and humorists of the olden time, were his favorite companions, and all the anecdotes of their lives and times were familiar to him as household words. He might have rivalled the *Causeries* of Sainte-Beuve, had he been as willing to use his pen as he was his tongue, and he could have held his own among the best *raconteurs* of his own or any other land. He was one of those men who leave an impression, when they die, of how much more they might have been, and how much more they might have done. But he did enough, and was enough, to be remembered with respect and affection by all who knew him; and his death has made a gap in many circles, which cannot easily be filled.

The President then read the following tribute from the Hon. GEORGE S. HILLARD, whose ill-health prevented his attendance at the meeting:—

It is now more than half a century since I first saw Mr. Davis. It was at Cambridge, in the beginning of my Sophomore year. He had recently entered college as a Freshman. I remember my first meeting with him the more distinctly because there was something peculiar in his appearance and manner. I do not know how to characterize this better than by saying that, while it was immature, it was the reverse of boyish. I was struck by the delicacy of his person, and the air of refinement which marked his face and general aspect. His movements, even at that time, were slow and measured. He looked to me as if he had never indulged in the rough sports and pastimes of an average boy; and I presume he never had. There was nothing to show that the summer suns had scorched him, or the winter winds had blown upon him. He had none of that fulness of physical life which burns like fire in the veins of most boys, and impels them to restless action. But his mind showed none of the characteristics of his bodily temperament. It was quick, alert, fruitful in allusions, and copious in illustrations. He had evidently read much, and thought not a little. I saw him frequently during his college life, probably as much as is common with students of different classes.

After we left college, our paths in life separated; and I saw him only occasionally, but always with pleasure, and we fell naturally into our early relations. He removed to Greenfield, where he established himself as a lawyer. I believe his rank in his profession was more than respectable. That in other directions he favorably impressed the community in

which he lived is shown by the fact that he was chosen to represent them in Congress. But neither his tastes nor his temperament qualified him for public life. He was most remarkable for those qualities which endear a man to his friends, but do not contribute to what is called success in life. His stores of miscellaneous knowledge were very great, and were under the command of a memory singularly prompt and retentive. Whatever subject was started, he would enrich it with a wealth of allusion and illustration which seemed exhaustless. The charm of his discourse was in its unstudied ease: it flowed from his mind as the natural fountain sends forth its waters. You could never be in his presence for any time without hearing something from him remarkable for its quaintness or beauty. His nature was eminently social. Other men have a taste for society: he had a genius for it. He was seen to best advantage in a small circle of congenial friends. Here all the wealth of his mind, all the stores of his memory, all that he had gathered from books or the experience of life, were freely lavished to give wings and grace to the passing hour. They who were privileged to be with him on such occasions were conscious not only of enjoying a vivid and transient pleasure, but of taking away with them something to which the memory delighted to recur in after years.

Mr. Davis had but a moderate portion of what are deemed the prizes of life. Neither wealth, nor power, nor wide extended fame fell to his lot; but, on the other hand, his life was not corroded by the sense of the disproportion between what he aspired to and what he gained. He was content with the lines which had fallen to him. A serene cheerfulness lighted his way to the last. Few men have been happier than he; few men have contributed in larger measure to the happiness of his friends.

The President then called on Dr. O. W. HOLMES, who said, —

Many of us have arrived at that period of life when those of our contemporaries whom we call by their first names, and who call us by ours, are rapidly getting fewer with every year. Their places can never be made good by those who address us with the usual and less familiar form of speech. We become to the newer generations "our respected townsman," and by and by "our venerable fellow-citizen"; but the sweet intimacies which went hand in hand with the interchange of baptismal names die out, as the evening lamps are extinguished, and are never renewed.

I have seen less of my classmate, George Davis, since we graduated, than of many others of our class. Distance and the difference of our pursuits kept us apart; and so it happened that I rarely met him except at our annual class meetings. But he put so much of himself into every hour of our intercourse, his social transparency was so remarkable, his talk so free and spontaneous, that he pictures himself far more vividly in my memory than many of whom I have seen a great deal more.

I think we shall all agree about his chief characteristics: a mind eminently and incessantly active, curious in learning from everybody, from every book, from everything; a memory retentive, and ready to a singular degree; a wit scintillating with electric suddenness at every slight collision; a delight in the play of his own faculties, which betrayed itself on his bright, companionable features; a love of brave and generous and lively thought, wherever he found it, not less hearty; a most social nature, which flowered out to the greatest advantage in cheerful company; a kind heart; an easy temperament. Others can say more of deeper-lying qualities; but these we all must recognize.

We who remember him in college with these characteristics, then almost as well marked as now, should have thought that, as he was a great reader and an active thinker, he would be a fertile writer. Instead of that, he has left very few written records by which he can be remembered. All he has done has been to live and to talk and to work. Sir James Mackintosh would have been content, as we are told, to have it said of him that he "had been talking." How many wise and witty things George Davis scattered through half a century of busy talking, those who come after him will never guess; but it is safe to say that, if they could have the best of his conversation in exchange for many books which keep their authors' names from oblivion a while, they would make a most profitable exchange. It is pleasanter to remember him than to read the works of many of his better-known contemporaries. After all, to be generally loved and everywhere welcome during life is perhaps as desirable as to have a page or two of extracts in the school-books and half a column in a biographical dictionary. There is no circle where he is known that will not find its gayety eclipsed; none who has enjoyed his friendship who will not feel a void that no other companionship can fill in his affections.

Mr. WILLIAM AMORY then said, —

After listening, Mr. President, to the beautiful letter of Mr. Hillard, and the eloquent remarks of those who have preceded me on this occasion, I feel of course some diffidence in following them with the few words, but hastily prepared, which I have to offer; but, sir, though I neither enjoyed the privilege of being schoolmate or classmate of Mr. Davis, I gladly embrace the opportunity, as an intimate friend of his later years, to join with those who knew him longer and better in a tribute to his memory.

My acquaintance began long ago, but my intimacy dates back only about ten years, when he was no longer young: still, in those later days all my earlier impressions of his charming companionship, of his kind heart and the brilliant qualities of his mind as they came to me by report from the friends of his youth, have been more than confirmed. I had heard much of his wit, which had so often set the table in a roar; of his æsthetic taste, which made him authority in works of literature and art; of his poetic temperament; of his extraordinary memory, so ready, accurate, and retentive; of the variety of his information upon almost every subject; of his kindly disposition, his genial humor, his cordial manners, his ready wit, and the almost unrivalled charms of his conversation; and, above all, of his marvellous powers as a *raconteur*.

Such, sir, is only a partial list of the interesting qualities attributed to Mr. Davis by common rumor and universal consent. Seven years since, sir, we were travelling companions for two months, with a pleasant party of other friends, journeying over the Plains, across the Rocky Mountains to San Francisco, and amidst the grand and beautiful scenery of California.

With the discomforts and vexations unavoidably incident to a journey so long in distance and time as this, travelling together is proverbially allowed to be a severe test of the temper and other qualities of those who try it; but Mr. Davis, by his patience, disinterestedness, good humor, and fun, was throughout the life of the party. For my own part, sir, I was with him almost every hour of every day, and found that the golden opinions I had heard from his friends rather failed to do justice than to exaggerate the attractive qualities of his character. The incense of over forty years of flattery had not spoiled him. He was modest and unassuming. With the tastes and habits of a man of the world,

attrition with the world had' neither hardened nor rendered him selfish. Courtied and caressed in society from his earliest manhood, his intercourse with the fashionable, convivial, official, and professional world had not blunted his sensibilities nor impaired the delicacy or simplicity of his nature.

In my time, three men in this community have attained a lasting celebrity in the circle in which they moved by their sparkling wit and brilliant colloquial powers, fitting them to shine at any table, coterie, or salon in any society of the world.

John Sullivan, handsome, courtly, and gay; with an inexhaustible fund of delightful anecdotes suitable to every company and adapted to every occasion; with inimitable power to mimic the German, the Frenchman, the Irishman, and the Yankee; with a delicious voice tuned to Irish melodies and the anacreontics of every nation, — able to sing enchantingly a good song in the language of them all, — was the first.

W. H. Prescott, who never sang a song, or attempted but rarely to make a joke, was of a different type and higher order. With a constant flow of exuberant spirits, his conversation at home and abroad, sometimes playful, sometimes serious, abounding in wisdom and wit, but always simple, cheered or instructed according to the subject, riveting always the attention and exciting the admiration of every listener.

The third, Mr. Davis, was in some sort and some degree a combination of the other two. Lacking, however, the gayety and vivacity, the imitative and musical powers of Mr. Sullivan, he was in some measure his inferior as a *raconteur*; while, wanting the personal charms, magnetism, and culture of Mr. Prescott, he was not quite his equal as a talker: still, uniting both accomplishments in the same person, he has stood in the opinion of his friends and contemporaries without a rival in his powers of entertaining companionship for the last twenty years.

The President also submitted the following notice of Thomas Donaldson, Esq., of Maryland, a Corresponding Member: —

Thomas Donaldson, Esq., was chosen a Corresponding Member of this Society in November, 1849. He was a pupil of the "Round Hill School," at Northampton, and afterwards a graduate of Harvard University. He married a granddaughter of Colonel Timothy Pickering, — whose papers we possess, and whose Life has just been published, — and was thus connected with many well-known Massachusetts fami-

lies. But he passed the greater part of his mature life in Baltimore, where he was born in 1815, and where he died on the 4th inst.

He was a lawyer by profession, and held a high rank at the bar of Maryland. He was an accomplished scholar, also, and had a large acquaintance with foreign languages and literature. He served his native State with great ability, on more than one occasion, in her House of Delegates, and in her Constitutional Convention. He adhered steadfastly to the Union during the civil war, and rendered valuable aid to the cause of his country. He was a man, above all, of the strictest integrity and of firm religious principle, and has left a precious memory to "troops of friends," both in Maryland and in Massachusetts.

The President next noticed the recent decease of M. Thiers, an Honorary Member of the Society, speaking as follows:—

The death of THIERS has not only deprived France of her most eminent citizen, but has hardly left a living name in either hemisphere associated with a public service so long and so conspicuous.

Born at Marseilles, of the humblest parentage, on the 16th of April, 1797, his native energy, untiring industry, and extraordinary intellectual vigor had carried him on through a varied career of political and literary celebrity, until, at his death, on the 3d of September last, in the eighty-first year of his age, he was the most interesting and most important person in the land which gave him birth,— "the central figure, certainly, of French politics."

The details of his public life would fill a volume. They belong to his biographer. They will doubtless be brilliantly and lovingly sketched, as no one else could sketch them, by his accomplished and eloquent contemporary and friend, Mignet, if his own life and health be spared, as we earnestly trust they may be, for another of his annual *Éloges* before the Institute of France, of which Thiers had become the senior member.

But nothing less circumscribed than a history of France during the period of his mature life would afford room for the full development of his many-sided capacity and marvellous activity.

There is a most characteristic story told of his earliest literary triumph. While he was a very young man, it seems, he had entered into competition for a prize offered by the Academy of Aix for the best essay on some historical subject,

— a prize like one of our Bowdoin prizes at Harvard University. The essay of Thiers was found to be the best; but a majority of the judges being Royalists, and holding the young Thiers to be little better than a Jacobin, the trial was postponed to the following year. Thiers at once resolved to outwit them. He sent back his original production, without a word of change, for the postponed competition, but prepared a second discourse on the same subject, and had it transmitted by post from Paris, as if it had come from another hand. The result was that the first prize was awarded to his new discourse, and the second prize to his old one. Thiers had won them both, to the ridicule of the Academy of Aix, and had proved, thus early, that he was not only capable of the first best and of the second best, but that he had wit and cunning enough to checkmate those who would wrong him, and that he was as ready in expedients as he was remarkable in resources.

Very soon we find him established in Paris as a Journalist, and wielding a pen as prolific as it was powerful. Politics, literature, the fine arts, the drama, were the varied subjects of articles which were the talk of Paris at the time, and many of which were not long afterwards included among the contents of permanent volumes.

And now he betakes himself to serious history; and between 1823 and 1827 ten volumes are to be found bearing his name, entitled the History of the French Revolution, from 1789 to the 18th Brumaire, — 9th November, 1799. But the arbitrary ministry and despotic designs of Polignac in 1829 arrest his historical studies just as he is embarking on a voyage of circumnavigation with a view to prepare himself for writing a more general history. He forthwith unites with Mignet and others in founding the "National," and in devoting its columns to the single and avowed purpose of overthrowing the Bourbons. It was in these columns that he first gave utterance to a memorable *mot*, which, with the article in which he developed it, was itself an event, rousing up an irrepressible spirit of resistance to the government, — "*Le Roi règne, et ne gouverne pas.*"

On the fall of Charles X., Thiers was at once recognized among the founders of the new dynasty, and was nominated to the Council of State, as Under-Secretary of the Finances, by Louis Philippe. He had already been chosen a member of the Chamber of Deputies; and from that date, 1830, his career is too much a part of general history to be followed on such an occasion as this. He became Minister of the Interior

in 1832, on the death of Casimir Périer, and soon afterward Minister of Commerce and Public Works. He was President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, for a short time, in 1836; and again, for several months, in 1840.

He now resumes his historical labors; and, as the result of them, between 1845 and 1857, at least seventeen volumes of his great work, "*L'Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*," are published, in which the genius and exploits of the First Napoleon are portrayed with so much brilliancy and power.

During the early part of these twelve years, however, great changes had occurred in France, of which he had been by no means a silent witness. He had been a sturdy opponent of Guizot's Ministry, in the Chamber of Deputies, on more than one great issue; and when, in 1848, a new revolution was at hand, the last act of Louis Philippe was to summon Thiers to the Tuileries, in February, 1848, to form a new ministry with Odillon Barrot. But it was too late: the Republic was proclaimed; and he at once gave in his adhesion to it. Taking a place again in the new Chamber of Deputies, he votes for the dictatorship of Cavaignac, and afterwards for the Presidency of Louis Napoleon. But, in 1851, he was one of the victims of the *Coup d'État*, and was sent to the prison of Mazas. From there he was exiled to Frankfort, but soon obtained permission to return to Paris, where he lived for many years in retirement, devoting himself to the completion of his great historical works.

In 1863, he appears again in the Representative Assembly, or Corps Législatif, of France, and was heard opposing, in unequivocal terms, many of the most noted measures of the Emperor, — the Italian War, the Mexican War, and, finally, the fatal declaration of war against Prussia. He stood almost alone in deprecating and denouncing this last declaration. His greatest services to France were rendered on the fall of the Second Empire. His mission to all the European courts to solicit intervention; his negotiations with Bismarck for an armistice; his election by twenty-six Departments simultaneously as a member of the National Assembly; his election by that assembly as first President of the Republic; and his liberation of the territory of France from foreign occupation, by a wise submission to irreparable events, and a masterly provision for the immediate payment of the indemnity imposed by the conqueror, — have impressed his name on the historic roll of France, where it can never be overlooked or obliterated.

The rebuilding of his own house at the cost of the nation,

after it had been destroyed by the Communists, will take its place on the same page with the restoration of the Napoleon Column in the Place Vendôme, — the final completion of which I witnessed in 1875, — among the most significant and striking events of the period in which he lived.

Failing at last in his favorite policy of consolidating what he called a Conservative Republic by legislative enactment, he resigned his Presidency, in May, 1873; and the office was conferred on the gallant Marshal MacMahon. During the four years which have since elapsed, he has been regarded as the Nestor of the Republican Party, if not of the Republic. All its friends have deferred to his counsel, and waited on his words. Maintaining resolutely to the last that the Republic was the only form of government now possible for his country, he has striven to encourage and animate its supporters, and, at the same time, to repress and restrain those who might be disposed to lead it into extravagant and radical courses. "The Republic must be conservative," he continually declared, "or it will cease to be"; and he enjoined on his friends to show that "the Republic is a government of order, peace, and liberty." And so, up to the very last hour of his life, the friends of the Republic were looking to him — past fourscore as he was — to resume the helm, and steer the Ship of State, if the pending elections should result, as some of them hoped, in rendering it necessary for the Marshal-President to withdraw before the end of his Septennate. There is authority for saying that he himself was dreaming of a near triumph, and did not scruple to say to at least one who conversed with him, only a few days before his death, "I shall die President." But death got the start of him; and his dreams, so far at least as they were personal, died with him.

It was my good fortune to know M. Thiers personally, in Paris, thirty years ago. Even before that time, I may be pardoned for remembering that some utterances of mine in the House of Representatives of the United States had attracted his notice, and been the subject of complimentary remark in the Chamber of Deputies. The earliest recognitions of a young man are ever the most gratefully cherished, and the last to be forgotten, as one becomes an old man. My opportunities of meeting him were, indeed, but rare and at long intervals; and the difference of language — for he could not, or certainly would not, speak a word of English — was always a serious impediment. But no one could be with him for a moment without perceiving the nervous energy, the intellectual agility, the sparkling wit, and the determined will

which animated his little frame, almost giving to a pigmy the proportions of a giant. Like Humboldt and the great Napoleon, he allowed himself but a few hours of sleep or rest. The wonder was that a nature so electric and intense could sleep or rest at all. If his formal speeches were sometimes conversational in their form and tone, his conversation, when I had the privilege of listening to it, had all the animation and eloquence of a formal speech. I cannot forget that I was a witness and a delighted hearer of one of his most remarkable exhibitions in the Corps Législatif; and I have in my hand a pamphlet copy of the speech to which I listened, with one of his latest photographs, kindly sent me by, himself. It was in December, 1867, when, interrupting M. Émile Ollivier, he exclaimed, "We are here, sometimes Italians, sometimes Germans: we are never Frenchmen. Let us be French!" That ejaculation, twice repeated, — "Soyons Français!" — was uttered with an emotion — I might call it an explosion — which cannot be described; and it produced an impression which convulsed the Chamber, and even shook Paris itself to its centre. It recalled to me some of those scenes in the House of Representatives of the United States at Washington, when John Quincy Adams, who had so many elements, physical and intellectual, in common with Thiers, turned upon some Southern — or it may have been some Northern — assailant, and carried the House and the country by storm.

My last interviews with Thiers were but two years ago, when I was repeatedly at his temporary residence, the Hôtel Bagration, and dined with him, in company with his cherished friend, our Minister, Mr. Washburne. He had then lately received his certificate of membership of our American Academy of Arts and Sciences, signed by our Vice-President, Mr. Adams, and an invitation to our Bunker Hill Centennial, which seemed particularly to gratify him. He had been chosen one of the Honorary Members of this Society many years before. In the course of conversation, he alluded to having read something of Professor Dana's of Yale College, asked whether I knew him, and begged me to present to him his compliments and respects. His mind had evidently been engaged on some of the materialistic theories of modern philosophy, from which it revolted; and he used language to me very like that which he is reported to have used in his literary Will, where he says "he has thought much about religion in his retirement, and has become convinced that it is the basis of every organized society. He will die, therefore, believing in God, one and eternal, the Creator of all things, whose mercy he implores for his soul."

In this cursory account of the career of M. Thiers, I have attempted no delineation of his character. He has been called an adventurer; a man of expedients, without fixed principles; a man of many inconsistencies, — now for a Monarchy, now for an Empire, now for a Republic, — only to be accounted for by a vaulting ambition, and a selfish seeking of opportunity and power for himself. I dare not contest such imputations; but, certainly, I am unwilling to concur with them. I leave them all for those who can pronounce upon them with authority, from points of view not commanded by those at so great a distance. I prefer to think of him, and speak of him, as a grand example of a self-made man, who filled up the long measure of his protracted life with strenuous labors for literature, for history, for the fine arts, and for his country; overcoming the obstacles of humble birth and adverse fortune by indomitable courage and perseverance; yielding neither to the blandishments nor to the menaces of kings or emperors, of conquerors or communes; and achieving at last his greatest glory by inestimable services to his native land.

One attribute of Thiers will, indeed, never be disputed by anybody, — his intense attachment to his own country, his ardent and passionate love of France. In that we may all recognize a golden thread binding together all his inconsistencies into a grand whole of Patriotism, and giving ample justification to at least one part of the enviable inscription which was engraved on the plate of his coffin, — “PATRIAM DILEXIT, VERITATEM COLUIT.”

The President presented to the Cabinet a bronze medal of George Peabody, executed by Mitchell for the Trustees of the Peabody Educational Fund, from the bust by the late Hiram Powers in the Society's possession.

The Hon. CHARLES F. ADAMS, chairman of the committee on a volume of “Revolutionary Papers,” announced that a part of a volume, consisting of letters of Washington, from the “Heath Papers,” had been printed and was ready for delivery.

Mr. THOMAS C. AMORY called the attention of the Society to a correspondence between Governor Sullivan and Timothy Pickering, in 1808, relating to the embargo, with a view of correcting some errors in a recent publication relating to this subject, speaking as follows: —

I wish to call the attention of the Society for a moment to the embargo correspondence, in 1808, between Governor Sullivan and Mr. Pickering.

At the time of the Berlin decree, the retaliatory orders in council, and the impressment of seamen, endangering our ships on the ocean, Congress, to avert possible war, for which we were poorly prepared and scantily provided, passed the embargo. One of our senators, Mr. Adams, voted for it, the other, Mr. Pickering, against it. It broke up our trade, and created distress in our seaports; provoking angry discussion and lending additional bitterness to party animosities. In February, 1808, Mr. Pickering addressed Governor Sullivan a letter, which he requested might be laid before the Legislature, arraigning the policy of the administration, and accusing the President of misleading Congress to effect its adoption. Perceiving at a glance the objectionable purport and language of this letter, the governor returned it next day, with a note sufficiently courteous, refusing to recognize any constitutional obligation to be made the organ of communication to the Legislature of whatever members of Congress might choose through him to address to it.

Boston, 3d March, 1808.

SIR, — I yesterday received your letter, consisting of six sheets, dated the seventh ultimo. Before I had gone through the first page, I was surprised by your novel and extraordinary claim upon me, as Governor of the Commonwealth, expressed in these words: "I now address it" — meaning your letter — "to you, sir, as the proper organ of communication." Had this been a request to have communicated your letter to the Legislature of this Commonwealth, as a favor to you, I should have continued to read until, from its contents, I became satisfied whether I ought or ought not to grant it; but, finding it to be a new and unexpected claim upon my official duty, I folded the letter instantly, to reflect upon its principles. I have not unfolded it since, and now return it by mail.

You will recollect that the Senate and House of Representatives of this Commonwealth are visible organic bodies; that the former has a president, and the latter a speaker; that both have clerks. You will also recollect that there is a secretary chosen by the two houses, and that whatever is proper to be communicated to them by you may be communicated through one or other of these officers; but that the Governor of the Commonwealth is obliged, *ex officio*, to communicate as Governor, to the Legislature, whatever a member of Congress shall please to address to him for that purpose, cannot be submitted to by me, until I find it to be made my duty by the Constitution of the Commonwealth. You seem to found your claim on your being a senator of this State. I can discern no distinction in this respect between members of the Senate and members of the House. All are representatives of the State, and all must have equal claims.

I am, sir, your very humble servant,

JAMES SULLIVAN.

Mr. Pickering, anticipating such would be the fate of his letter, sent a duplicate to Mr. Cabot for publication; and, before the reply reached him, it was in print, and with a preface dated the 9th, copies of it in circulation the day previous.

Upon receiving back his letter, Mr. Pickering addressed another to the governor, in terms uncalled for by any expression in that which accompanied the return of his first. This should perhaps have ended the correspondence. But such was not the temper of the times; and, in his reply of the 18th, the governor used the expression in reference to the original communication, "that it was printed, he found, before he received it by mail." There had been no time for Mr. Cabot to consult with Mr. Pickering as to printing the document. It was in circulation a week from the 2d of the month when it reached Boston, and before the answer could be known. The governor may have had other reasons for his conclusion. But, if resting upon inference from what has been stated, its affirmative expression, addressed to one who knew when the letter actually went to press, and without any intent, motive, or possibility of deception, can sustain no charge of untruthfulness, as he simply said what he believed, and had no reason to doubt. No copy of his letter was preserved, though its substance was printed in the "Chronicle" of April 22d, from recollection and minutes. Five weeks later, Mr. Pickering published the original in full, with comments at great length, in reply.

Except indirect allusion to the proposed separation of the Northern from the Southern States, made by Mr. Pickering to his intimate correspondents in 1804, now known by this recent publication, and which proposition, from the reference to Burr and Miranda in the letter, had obviously come to the knowledge of the leaders of both political parties, there was some warmth of expression, but little to offend. It afforded the senator an opportunity to relate many historical instances of value in his public career. He intimates that his letter was read through when received. This was simply his own conjecture. It was opened the night before it was sent back, and was over twenty pages in length. There is no evidence, but the statement of Governor Sullivan, whether he read it through or not. He said he did not. Its perusal could not have been a pleasure, for its abuse of the President, his party, and their measures,—evident at a glance of its contents,—was repugnant to his sense of propriety, and the moment inopportune, as the State elections were approach-

ing, and parties in the State nearly equally divided. He was scrupulously truthful and honorable in word and deed, and the probabilities in this instance strongly in his favor, it is fair to conclude he read the manuscript, only as he states, and the remainder when in print. The recent publication of a private letter of Mr. Pickering to Mr. Cabot, of the same date as that printed in 1808, repeating the charge generally, without specifying of what it consisted, or on what evidence it rested, seems to demand the present statement to prevent misapprehension. Such charges should not be allowed to create prejudice without explanation.

Great as we may lament the loss of historical material in the destruction by leaders in times of historical interest of private correspondence, we cannot but honor their motives. Much is said in moments of temper, in friendly confidence, which ought not be preserved. If such correspondence escapes destruction, intentionally or through inadvertence, it should be used for publication with some regard to the memory of the dead, and the reasonable sensitiveness of the living. It is peculiarly aggravating that charges involving character should be spread abroad where no correction can follow them; but, if they escape the private repositories where they belong, it is well that they should be published, when they can be refuted, if unjust. We are passing away; but whoever is interested in the memory of the founders and officers of this Society may well look to its records for evidence that such an imputation did not pass without denial or refutation.

We cannot over-estimate the obligation of thorough and exact investigation of whatever relates to the history of the past. But there still exists a natural reluctance to revive controversies which in our earlier days of freedom were peculiarly acrimonious. In my account of this embargo correspondence in my *Life of Governor Sullivan*, I studiously avoided what would annoy. I had access only to what was then in print, in papers and pamphlets of the day. My application to the representatives of Mr. Cabot for copies of what related to my subject was not attended with success; that to those of Mr. Pickering, but in part. Satisfied that the course pursued by Governor Sullivan was right, and what it should have been, I made all allowance for what appeared harsh or unreasonable in others. The biography now published serves not only to explain the allusion to Burr in this correspondence, but much of the groundless jealousy later about the Hartford Convention, and moreover, in some

measure, the correspondence between the representatives of the Federalist leaders and Mr. Adams, as also, possibly, the pretended revelations of Henry, for which President Madison paid a price so far exceeding their value. But that jealousy existed, and was warranted, does not necessarily involve reproach. If any of the advanced Federalists in 1804 felt the course of administration oppressive, prejudicial to the public interest, dangerous to liberty, and separation was agitated in private correspondence as a remedy in that spirit of 1776 which established our independence, we all recognize the right of revolution, on just grounds of discontent, where there is fair chance of success and the parties choose to brave the consequences.

Self-preservation is the paramount obligation of all governments. Their zealous supporters may brand their assailants as traitors; but the brightest names in history are often the successful rebels. If the Federalists were actuated by patriotic motives in their opposition to the Jefferson administration, they were, no doubt, loyal to their convictions. But the country, in 1803, was drifting into a war where the protection of its allies might have proved more prejudicial to liberty and independence than the aggressions of its foes; and the embargo which John Quincy Adams and Lord Brougham ably defended, or other measures tending to avert hostilities, can hardly now be condemned. At that period, both belligerents, in the pride of their power, were domineering and unscrupulous, and the country divided equally between those who hated and dreaded one of them or both: even such strength as we had was not to be relied upon to repel aggression from disunion among ourselves.

Washington's administration could hardly be called Federalist or Republican. Party lines became later defined. The Federalists reluctantly relinquished their hold on power and place, and regarded Republican ascendancy as usurpation. They were very bitter in denouncing their opponents, who retaliated; and party animosities grew venomous. For a Federalist to propose to break up the Union, even by State action, was counted by Republicans as obnoxious to almost equal censure as the overt acts and ineffective efforts of Aaron Burr. Such designs, if known to have been entertained but for a moment by one as influential as Mr. Pickering, would be naturally remembered to his prejudice, when assuming a hostile and aggressive position towards the Republicans. It never was, of course, intended to accuse him of complicity with Burr, but to remind him that his having been willing to

break up the Union weakened his claim to control the national politics. Without this reference to facts not generally familiar, the allusion to Burr might be misunderstood.

Mr. DEANE read the following letter from Captain A. M. Harrison, of the United States Coast Survey, residing in Plymouth, Mass., giving the history of a portrait bearing the name of "M. Standish," supposed to be that of the old Plymouth captain, Myles Standish, which had been on exhibition at the Society's rooms during the summer; Mr. Harrison being desirous of obtaining the opinion of experts on the picture:—

PLYMOUTH, Mass., Sept. 10, 1877.

DEAR SIR,—My brother-in-law, Mr. Sever, informed me that you wish to know where I obtained the picture of Myles Standish. I was under the impression that I wrote all the facts to Mr. Hale, who deposited the picture for me in the Historical Society rooms; but it seems that I did not.

The story as to the manner in which the picture came into my possession is briefly this: On my return from Washington, early in April last, on passing a picture store on School Street, in Boston, nearly opposite the City Hall, I glanced in the window, and, among a number of very inferior pictures offered for sale, I saw the one in question, in a shabby and comparatively modern frame. In the corner was a slip of writing-paper marked, "Portrait of Captain Standish, aged 38." I was attracted by the evident age of the painting, and out of curiosity went into the store, with no intention whatever of purchasing it. A young man was in attendance. I asked him what Captain Standish it was a portrait of. He said he did not know, and was evidently ignorant that such a person as the Puritan commander had ever existed.

At my request, he took the picture out of the window-case and allowed me to examine it, which I did carefully. The only letters visible were those in the left-hand corner, "*Ætatis Suae 38,*" and underneath the date, "*A. 1625.*" I asked the attendant where he obtained it. He said a gentleman named Gilbert had put it there on sale, and that this same gentleman had also brought some other valuable old paintings, which had been sold. I then told the man, after ascertaining its price, that, if it were an authentic portrait of Captain *Myles* Standish, it was invaluable; but that, if it could *not* be authenticated, it was merely interesting as an old painting of fair merit, and that I would take the picture at his price, provided he would obtain and send to me at Plymouth an autograph certificate from Mr. Gilbert, stating how it had come to him, and, if the certificate were tolerably satisfactory, I would remit the value of the picture.

At the time, I saw enough of it to satisfy me that it was an old painting, and, as the price was not large, I determined to take it, if there was a plausible reason to suppose that it *might* be a portrait

of the old soldier; and it occurred to me at once that if I could ascertain that it was *Myles* Standish who was meant for Captain Standish, and that it was painted about the era of his prime, it was probably genuine, for the reason that *there could be no object in fraud, as no money was to be made out of the deceit*, for pictures almost invariably bring high prices on account of the name of the artist, and not of the subject; and, furthermore, at the time of the painting Myles Standish had not gained so famous a name as he has now; and even now, outside of the Old Colony, and a portion of Massachusetts, there is scarcely any one who knows, as we do, that no portrait of him has ever been discovered.

As of historic value merely, I doubt if the picture would bring even a nominal amount outside of our own borders, unless from some person of Massachusetts birth or Puritan descent, and well informed in the annals of the Old Colony.

I did not and do not intend to sell the picture: my present intention is to keep it in my family for my children, who are of "Mayflower" descent, although, if my investigations, which are but just begun, are entirely satisfactory, I may, at some future day, present it to some society who will appreciate its value.

About a week after reaching home, I received the following certificate from the owner:—

"BOSTON, April 23, 1877.

"This certifies that this portrait of Myles Standish was purchased for such, at Germantown, Philadelphia, shortly before the war of 1812, of a branch of the Chew family, by Roger Gilbert, who was born at Portsmouth, Virginia, and lived in Philadelphia at the time. He was also in the war of 1812.

"JAMES GILBERT, Grand-nephew."

I sent for the picture, and on removing the frame found the name "M. Standish" underneath, in the right-hand upper corner.

As a matter of age, I had it examined by an accomplished expert in wood, who gave me a certificate to the effect that the panel or board itself must be 200 years old, and may be 300.

A gentleman well versed in painting thinks the artist was Cornelius Janssen, who was of Flemish parents, born in London, and died in Flanders; and who painted almost exclusively on wood. I think he was born about 1590, and was in his prime when Standish visited London as commissioner in 1625.

I am in correspondence with the Chew family, which with its branches is a very large one, and into which a wealthy English gentleman (Mr. Nicklin) married. He is said to have been very fond of art, and to have brought many valuable pictures, historical and otherwise, from England. His daughter was the wife of Vice-President George M. Dallas, and his wife was a daughter of Chief Justice Chew of Pennsylvania, I believe.

My object in sending the picture to the Historical Society was to obtain the opinion of cultivated gentlemen interested in such matters.

I have already received several interesting letters, with the *pros* and *cons*. I intend also, in due time, to submit it to the two best experts on old paintings in the country, one in New York and one in Providence.

I am very glad to receive any criticism adverse or otherwise from any intelligent source, as I wish, of course, to get at the truth. If the balance of probabilities is against its authenticity, I want to know it. So far, the reverse seems to me to be the case.

Yours respectfully,

A. M. HARRISON.

The Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT submitted — through Mr. FROTHINGHAM — a manuscript copy of a record of a conversation between Governor Hutchinson and his Majesty George III., which took place on the first day of July, 1774, on Hutchinson's arrival in England after being superseded by General Gage. The conversation was copied from the original diary of Governor Hutchinson by Francis R. Rives, Esq., Secretary of Legation, and is now printed for the first time: —

Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts.

1st July, 1774. Received a card from Lord Dartmouth, desiring to see me at his house, before one o'clock. I went soon after twelve; and, after near an hour's conversation, his lordship proposed introducing me immediately to the King. I was not dressed as expecting to go to court: but his lordship observing that the King would not be at St. James again until Wednesday, I thought it best to go, but waited so long for his lordship to dress that the levee was over; but his lordship going in to the King, I was admitted, contrary (as Lord Pomfret observed to me), to custom, to kiss his Majesty's hand in his closet. After which, as near as I can recollect, the following conversation passed: —

King. How do you do, Mr. Hutchinson, after your voyage?

Hutchinson. Much reduced, sir, by sea-sickness; and unfit, upon that account, as well as my New England dress, to appear before your Majesty.

(*Lord Dartmouth* observed: Mr. Hutchinson apologized to me for his dress; but I thought it very well, as he is just come ashore. To which the King assented.)

King. How did you leave your government? and how did the people receive the news of the late measures in Parliament?

Hutchinson. When I left Boston, we had no news of any act of Parliament, except the one for shutting up the port, which was extremely alarming to the people.

(*Lord Dartmouth* said: Mr. Hutchinson came from Boston the day that act was to take place, — the first of June. I hear the people of Virginia have refused to comply with the request to shut up their

ports from the people of Boston ; and Mr. Hutchinson seems to be of opinion that no colony will comply with that request.)

King. Do you believe, Mr. Hutchinson, that the account from Virginia is true?

Hutchinson. I have no other reason to doubt it, except that the authority for it seems to be only a newspaper, and it is very common for articles to be inserted in newspapers without any foundation. I have no doubt that, when the people of Rhode Island received the like request, they gave this answer: that if Boston would stop all the vessels they then had in port, which they were hurrying away before the act commenced, the people of Rhode Island would then consider of the proposal.

The King smiled.

Lord Dartmouth. Mr. Hutchinson, may it please your Majesty, has shown me a newspaper with an address from a great number of merchants ; another from the Episcopal clergy ; another from the lawyers, — all expressing their sense of his conduct in the most favorable terms. Lord Dartmouth thereupon took the paper out of his pocket, and showed it.

King. I do not see how it could be otherwise. I am sure his conduct has been universally approved of here by people of all parties.

Hutchinson. I am very happy in your Majesty's favorable opinion of my administration.

King. I am entirely satisfied with it. I am well acquainted with the difficulties you have encountered, and with the abuse and injury offered you. Nothing could be more cruel than the treatment you met with in betraying your private letters. (The King turning to Lord Dartmouth,) My Lord, I remember nothing in them to which the least exception could be taken.

Lord Dartmouth. That appears, sir, from the report of the committee of Council, and from your Majesty's order thereon.

Hutchinson. The correspondence, sir, was not of my seeking. It was a mere matter of friendly amusement ; chiefly a narrative of occurrences, in relations of which I avoided personalities as much as I could, and endeavored to treat persons, when they could not be avoided, with tenderness, as much as if my letters were intended to be exposed, whereas I had no reason to suppose they ever would be exposed.

King. Could you ever find, Mr. Hutchinson, how those letters came to New England?

Hutchinson. Doctor Franklin, may it please your Majesty, has made a public declaration that he sent them, and the speaker has acknowledged to me that he received them. I do not remember that he said directly from Doctor Franklin ; but it was understood between us that they came from him. I had heard before, that they came either direct from him, or that he had sent them through another channel ; and that they were to be communicated to six persons only, and then to be returned, without suffering any copies to be taken. I sent for the speaker, and let him know what I had heard, which came from one of the six to a friend, and so to me. The speaker said they were sent to

him, and that he was at first restrained from showing them to any more than six persons.

King. Did he tell you who were the persons?

Hutchinson. Yes, sir: there was Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. Pitts, Doctor Winthrop, Doctor Chauncy, Doctor Cooper, and himself. They are not all the same which had been mentioned before. The two Mr. Adams's had been named to me in the room of Mr. Pitts and Doctor Winthrop.

King. Mr. Bowdoin I have heard of.

Lord Dartmouth. I think he is father-in-law to Mr. Temple.

King. Who is Mr. Pitts?

Hutchinson. He is one of the Council; married Mr. Bowdoin's sister.

King. I have heard of Dr. Chauncy and Dr. Cooper; but who is Dr. Winthrop?

Hutchinson. He is not a doctor of divinity, sir; but of law; a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at the college; and last year was chose of the Council.

King. I have heard of one Mr. Adams; but who is the other?

Hutchinson. He is a lawyer, sir.

King. Brother to the other?

Hutchinson. No, sir; a relation. He has been of the House; but is not now. He was elected by the two Houses to be of the Council, but negatived. The speaker further acquainted me that after the first letter, he received another allowing him to show the letters to the Committee of Correspondence; and afterwards a third, which allowed him to show them to such persons as he could confide in, but always enjoined to send them back without taking copies. I asked him how he could be guilty of such a breach of trust as to suffer them to be made public. He excused it by saying that he was against their being brought before the House, but was overruled; and, when they had been read there, the people abroad compelled their publication, or would not be satisfied without it. Much more passed, with which I will not trouble your Majesty; but after the use had been made of the letters which is so well known, they were all returned.

King (turning to Lord Dartmouth). This is strange! Where is Doctor Franklin, my Lord?

Lord Dartmouth. I believe, sir, he is in town. He was going to America; but I fancy he is not gone.

King. I heard he was going to Switzerland, or to some part of the Continent.

Lord Dartmouth. I think, sir, there has been such a report.

King. In such abuse, Mr. Hutchinson, as you have met with. I suppose there must have been personal malevolence as well as party rage.

Hutchinson. It has been my good fortune, sir, to escape any charge against me in my private character. The attacks have been upon my public conduct, and for such things as my duty to your Majesty required me to do, and which you have been pleased to approve of. I don't know that any of my enemies have complained of a personal injury.

King. I see they threatened to pitch and feather you.

Hutchinson. Tar and feather, may it please your Majesty; but I don't remember that ever I was threatened with it.

Lord Dartmouth. Oh, yes! when Malcolm was tarred and feathered, the committee for tarring and feathering blamed the people for doing it; that being a punishment reserved for a higher person, and we supposed you was intended.

Hutchinson. I remember something of that sort, which was only to make diversion; there being no such committee, or none known by that name.

King. What guard had you, Mr. Hutchinson?

Hutchinson. I depended, sir, on the protection of Heaven. I had no other guard. I was not conscious of having done any thing of which they could justly complain, or make a pretence for offering violence to my person. I was not sure, but I hoped they only meant to intimidate. By discovering that I was afraid, I should encourage them to go on. By taking measures for my security, I should expose myself to calumny, and be censured as designing to render them odious for what they never intended to do. I was, therefore, obliged to appear to disregard all the menaces in the newspapers, and also private intimations from my friends, who frequently advised me to take care of myself.

King. I think you generally live in the country, Mr. Hutchinson; what distance are you from town?

Hutchinson. I have lived in the country, sir, in the summer for twenty years; but, except the winter after my house in town was pulled down, I have never lived in the country in winter, until the last. My house is seven or eight miles from the town, — a pleasant situation; and most gentlemen from abroad say it has the finest prospect from it, they ever saw, except when great improvements have been made by art to help the natural view. The longest way, the road is generally equal to the turnpike roads here; the other way, rather rough.

King. Pray what does Hancock do now? How will the late affair affect him?

Hutchinson. I don't know to what particular affair your Majesty refers.

King. Oh! a late affair in the city, — his bills being refused, (Turning to Lord Dartmouth) who is that in the city, my Lord?

Lord Dartmouth not recollecting.

Hutchinson. I have heard, sir, that Mr. Haley, a merchant in the city, is Mr. Hancock's principal correspondent.

King. Ay, that's the name.

Hutchinson. I heard, may it please your Majesty, before I came from New England, that some small sums were returned, but none of consequence.

King. Oh, no! I mean within this month, — large sums.

Lord Dartmouth. I have heard such rumors, but don't know the certainty.

Hutchinson. Mr. Hancock, sir, had a very large fortune left him by his uncle; and I believe his political engagements have taken off his

attention from his private affairs. He was sensible, not long ago, of the damage it was to him; and told me he was determined to quit all public business, but soon altered his mind.

King. Then there's Mr. Cushing,—I remember his name a long time. Is not he a great man of the party?

Hutchinson. He has been many years speaker; but a speaker, sir, is not always the person of the greatest influence. A Mr. Adams is rather considered as the opposer of government, and a sort of Wilkes in New England.

King. What gave him his importance?

Hutchinson. A great pretended zeal for liberty, and a most inflexible natural temper. He was the first that publicly asserted the independency of the colonies upon the kingdom, or the supreme authority of it.

King. I have heard, Mr. Hutchinson, that your ministers preach that, for the sake of promoting liberty or the public good, any immoralities or less evil may be tolerated.

Hutchinson. I don't know, sir, that such doctrine has ever been preached from the pulpit; but I have no doubt it has been publicly asserted by some of the heads of the party, who call themselves sober men, that the good of the public is above all other considerations, and that truth may be dispensed with, and immorality is excusable, when this great good can be obtained by such means.

King. That's a strange doctrine, indeed. Pray, Mr. Hutchinson, what is your opinion of the effect from the new regulation of the Council? Will it be agreeable to the people, and will the new-appointed councillors take the trust upon them?

Hutchinson. I have not, may it please your Majesty, been able to inform myself who they are. I came to town late last evening, and have seen nobody. I think much will depend upon the choice that has been made.

King. Inquiry was made, and pains taken that the most suitable persons should be appointed.

Hutchinson. The body of the people are dissenters from the Church of England,—what are called Congregationists. If the Council shall have been generally selected from the Episcopalians, it will make the change more disagreeable.

King. Why, are they not Presbyterians?

Hutchinson. There are a very few churches which call themselves Presbyterians, and form themselves voluntarily into a Presbytery, without any aid from the civil government, which the Presbyterian Church of Scotland enjoys.

Lord Dartmouth. The dissenters in England, at this day, are scarce any of them Presbyterians; but, like those in New England, Congregationists, or rather Independents.

King. Pray what were *your* ancestors, Mr. Hutchinson?

Hutchinson. In general, sir, dissenters.

King. Where do you attend?

Hutchinson. With both, sir. Sometimes at your Majesty's chapel;

but more generally at a Congregational church, which has a very worthy minister, a friend to government, who constantly prays for your Majesty and all in authority under you.

King. What is his name?

Hutchinson. Dr. Pemberton.

King. I have heard of Dr. Pemberton, that he is a very good man. Who is minister at the chapel?

Hutchinson. The rector is Dr. Caner, a very worthy man, also, who frequently inculcates upon his hearers due subjection to government, and condemns the violent, riotous opposition to it; and, besides the prayers in the Liturgy, generally in a short prayer before sermon expressly prays for your Majesty, and for the chief ruler in the Province.

King. Why, do not the Episcopal ministers in general do the same?

Hutchinson. In general, sir, they use no other prayer before sermon than a short collect out of the Liturgy.

King. No. (Turning to Lord Dartmouth.) It is not so here, my Lord?

Lord Dartmouth. I believe it is, sir. In your Majesty's chapel they always use such a prayer. It is a form adapted.

King. I think you must be mistaken.

Lord Dartmouth. No, sir; this prayer used to be printed formerly, but of late it has not been printed with the service. In general, the ministers use a collect, as Mr. Hutchinson says. Sometimes the collect in the communion service: "Prevent us, O Lord," &c.; but, I think, oftener the collect for the second Sunday in Advent.

Hutchinson. My education, sir, was with the dissenters. I conceive there is no material difference between reading a prayer out of a book, and saying it *memoriter* without book.

Lord Dartmouth. I think, sir, it is not very material. The prayers of the dissenters are in substance very much the same with those in the service of the Church.

King. I see no material difference if the prayers be equally good; but will not that depend upon the minister? But, pray, Mr. Hutchinson, why do your ministers generally join with the people in their opposition to government?

Hutchinson. They are, sir, dependent upon the people. They are elected by the people; and, when they are dissatisfied with them, they seldom leave till they get rid of them.

King. That must be very dangerous. If the people oblige them to concur with them in their erroneous principles on government, they may do it in religion also, and this must have a most fatal tendency.

Hutchinson. There is one check, sir, upon the people. Unless a minister be dismissed by a council of churches, the Province law makes provision for the recovery of the salary; but we have no instance where a minister, for any length of time, has brought suits for the recovery of his salary, after the people refuse to hear him. They generally weary him, and sooner or later they get clear of him.

Lord Dartmouth. That's a considerable tie, however.

King. Pray, Mr. Hutchinson, does population greatly increase in your Province?

Hutchinson. Very rapidly, sir. I used to think that Dr. Franklin, who has taken much pains in his calculations, carried it too far, when he supposed the inhabitants of America, from their natural increase, doubled their number in twenty-five years; but I rather think now that he did not, and I believe it will appear, from the last returns I made to the Secretary of State, that the Massachusetts has increased in that proportion; and the increase is supposed, including the importation of foreigners, to be upon the whole greater in most of the Southern Colonies than in the Massachusetts. We import no settlers from Europe so as to make any sensible increase.

King. Why do not foreigners come to your Province as well as to the Southern governments?

Hutchinson. I take it, sir, that our long cold winters discourage them. Before they can bring the land to such a state as to be able in summer to provide for their support in winter, what little substance they can bring with them is expended, and many of them have greatly suffered. The Southern Colonies are more temperate.

King. What is the reason you raise no wheat in your province?

Hutchinson. In most places, especially near the sea, it blasts.

King. To what cause is that owing?

Hutchinson. It has been observed that, where the grain is so forward as to be out of the milk the beginning of July, it seldom blasts; and that, about the 8th or 10th of that month, the weather becomes exceeding hot, and what are called the honey-dews of the night are fixed upon the grain by the scalding sun, in a hot morning; and, if the grain be then in the milk, it shrivels up, and the straw becomes musty and black. This is a pretty general opinion of the cause.

King. To what produce is your climate best adapted?

Hutchinson. To grazing, sir: your Majesty has not a finer colony for grass in all your dominions; and nothing is more profitable in America than pasture, because labor is very dear.

King. Then you import all your bread corn from the other colonies?

Hutchinson. No, sir; scarce any, except for the use of the maritime towns. In the country towns, the people raise grain enough for their own expending, and sometimes for exportation. They live upon coarser bread made of rye and corn mixed; and, by long use, they learn to prefer this to flour or wheat bread.

King. What's corn?

Hutchinson. Indian corn, or, as it is called in authors, maize.

King. Ay, — I know it. Does that make good bread?

Hutchinson. Not by itself, sir; the bread will soon be dry and husky; but the rye keeps it moist, and some of our country people prefer a bushel of rye to a bushel of wheat, if the price should be the same.

King. That's very strange.

Lord Dartmouth. In many parts of Scotland, sir, rye is much esteemed as making good and wholesome bread.

The King inquired very particularly into many other parts of the produce of the country, and the natural history of it; to which I gave the best answers I was capable of.

King. New York, I think, come the next to Boston in their opposition to government?

Hutchinson. Does your Majesty think nearer than Pennsylvania?

King. Why, I can't say that they do, of late. Rhode Island, Mr. Hutchinson, is a strange form of government.

Hutchinson. They approach, sir, the nearest to a democracy of any of your colonies. Once a year all power returns to the people, and all their officers are new elected. By this means the governor has no judgment of his own, and must comply with every popular prejudice.

King. Who is their Governor now?

Hutchinson. His name, sir, is Wanton; a gentleman, who, I have reason to think, wishes to see government maintained as much as any they could find in the colonies.

King. How is it with Connecticut; are they much better?

Hutchinson. The constitutions, sir, are much the same; but Connecticut are a more cautious people, strive to make as little noise as may be, and have in general retained a good share of that virtue which is peculiarly necessary in such a form of government.

More was said upon the state of these and some of the other colonies. There being something of a pause about this time, I turned to Lord Dartmouth and asked, Does your Lordship remember when you had the first account of the Lieutenant-Governor's death, and whether it was before the letters which I wrote by Governor Tryon?

Lord Dartmouth. Oh, yes! I had a letter from you several weeks before that, giving an account of it.

Hutchinson. There was a vessel sailed for Lisbon, the day after he died; and I gave a letter to the master in charge, to put it on board the first vessel for London, but was doubtful of the conveyance.

King. We never could find out which way that letter came. Is the present Lieutenant-Governor a relation to the late Mr. Oliver?

Hutchinson. No, sir; not of the same family. I have no connection with him, nor did I even let him know that I had mentioned him as one of the persons I thought might be proper for a Lieutenant-Governor.

King. The Chief Justice, I think, is brother to the late Lieutenant-Governor?

Hutchinson. Yes, sir.

King. We had thought of him; but as he was not one of those you had named, the present gentleman upon inquiry appeared, under all circumstances, the most proper.

Hutchinson. I had some particular inducements not to mention the Chief Justice. He is related to me, and his appointment would have increased the envy against both of us.

King. How is he related to you?

Hutchinson. One of his sons, sir, married one of my daughters. I was, besides, uncertain whether the salary would be continued; and, if it should be, his salary as Chief Justice exceeded it, except in case of my absence; and then the expense of living, and the additional trouble from his post I considered, as more than an equivalent. I considered, further, that the controversy in which he had been engaged as Chief

Justice would render the administration peculiarly difficult just at that time; and I supposed, it would immediately devolve upon him by my absence, having then no expectation of being superseded.

I never took more pains to divest myself of all personal views than in mentioning proper persons for this place. I should have been more anxious, if I had not thought it not improbable that some person might be appointed and sent from England.

King. What number of Indians had you in your government?

Hutchinson. They are almost extinct. Perhaps there are fifty or sixty families at most, upon the Eastern frontier, where there is a small fort maintained; though I conceive the inhabitants would not be in the least danger. It looks, sir, as if, in a few years, the Indians would be extinct in all parts of the continent.

King. To what is that owing?

Hutchinson. I have thought, sir, in part to their being dispirited at their low, despicable condition among the Europeans, who have taken possession of their country, and treat them as an inferior race of beings; but more to the immoderate use of spirituous liquors. There are near one hundred families, perhaps more, of Indians, who are domiciliated and live, some in other towns, but most of them at a place called Mashpee, where they have a church, and a missionary to preach to them, and also an Indian minister, who has been ordained, and preaches sometimes in their own language.

King. What, — an Episcopal minister?

Hutchinson. No, sir; of the Congregational persuasion or form of worship.

The King was particular in many other inquiries relative to my administration, to the state of the Province and the other colonies.

I have minuted what remained the clearest upon my mind, and as near the order in which they passed as I am able.

He asked also what part of my family I brought with me, — and what I left behind; and at length advised me to keep house a few days for the recovery of my health, and then withdrew. I was near two hours in the R. Closet. Lord Dartmouth feared I was tired, so long standing — I observed: so gracious a reception made me insensible of it.

Copied from the original, by Mr. Rives. Signed, "EDWARD EVERETT," London, 1 Feb., 1843. Transcribed, Feb. 28, 1863, by Richard Frothingham.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM also communicated, for the purpose of publication, a manuscript diary of Thomas Newell, of Boston, kept during the years 1773 and 1774, which contains many notes of interest. It belonged to a lady in Charlestown. A transcript, made under the inspection of the late Edward Everett, was presented by him to the Society, Nov. 21, 1850. The Society had already printed the diary of Timothy Newell, an uncle of Thomas, recording events during the years 1775 and 1776. The diary of Thomas Newell here follows: —

DIARY FOR 1773 TO THE END OF 1774,

OF MR. THOMAS NEWELL, BOSTON.*

January begins on Friday, hath 31 days. 1773.

D. M. Wind.

1. s.w. Friday. This year begins, and hitherto the weather has been remarkably moderate and pleasant.
2. s.w. Saturday, very moderate; pleasant.
3. n.e. Sunday, rain.
4. n. Monday, cloudy; moderate.
5. w. Tuesday, fair; pleasant.
6. w. Wednesday, fair; do.
7. n.w. Rain at 2 o'clock. Night, fire broke out at Calef tan-yard, consumed several houses.
8. w. Friday, very pleasant.
9. w. Saturday, fair; pleasant,
10. n.w. Sunday, flight snow, half inch. Captain Jarvis, from London.
11. n.w. Monday, fair; pleasant.
12. w. Tuesday, A.M. flight snow; P.M. fair; pleasant.
13. n.w. Wednesday, fair; cold.
14. n. Thursday, snow, four inch.
15. n.w. Friday, fair.
16. n. Saturday, fair; pleasant.
17. w. Sunday, very cold.
18. w. Monday, very cold.
19. w. Tuesday, very cold.
20. s.w. Wednesday, weather more moderate.
21. n.e. Thursday, snow; P.M. fair, n.
22. w. Friday, fair; pleasant.
23. s.w. Saturday, fair; pleasant.
24. s.w. Sunday, snow.
25. w. Monday, fair; very pleasant.
26. s.w. Tuesday, moderate; cloudy.
27. w. Wednesday, moderate; very pleasant.
28. e. Thursday, snow and rain.
29. w. Friday, fair; windy; cold.
30. n.w. Saturday, cold; windy.
31. n.e. Sunday, cloudy.

* "The passages marked with inverted commas and underlined are written in cypher in the original." — Note of Mr. Everett in the copy of the diary, which we use in printing, comparing the proof with the original. The writer of the diary was illiterate, and we have corrected his spelling and punctuation. — Eds.

February begins on Monday, hath 28 days.

- D. M. Wind.
1. w. Monday, fair; pleasant.
 2. N.W. Tuesday, very cold; the coldest this year. Tho. Jackson daugh. Sal died, Æ . 19.
 3. S.W. Wednesday, cold; P.M. snow.
 4. N.W. Thursday, rain.
 5. N.E. Friday, cloudy.
 6. w. Saturday, fair; cool; pleasant.
 7. S.W. Sunday, rain.
 8. N.W. Monday, fair; very cold; high wind.
 9. S.W. Tuesday, cloudy; moderate.
 10. S.W. Wednesday, fair; very pleasant.
 11. N.W. Thursday, cold; fair. Captain Welchman, thirteen weeks out London.
 12. S.W. Friday, pleasant.
 13. N.W. Saturday, fair; cold.
 14. S.W. Sunday, fair; cold.
 15. S.W. Monday, fair.
 16. S.W. Tuesday, fair; pleasant.
 17. w. Wednesday, fair; do.
 18. w. Thursday, fair; do. [Thomas] Williston, sexton, died, Æ . 63.
 19. w. Friday, fair; do. William Burrett appointed waiter by the Selectmen, in Williston's room, 22d this month.
 20. N.W. Saturday, fair; cold.
 21. w. Sunday, extreme cold; high wind. At 2 o'clock this morning, a fire broke out in Mr. B Sumner's inn. Shop consumed; his and father's house, Mr. Coolidge's, &c.
 22. w. Monday, fair; very cold. (21st, 10 degrees colder than these forty years)
 23. N.W. Tuesday, fair; very cold.
 24. w. Wednesday, very cold. Captain Stephen Hall died, Æ . 80.
 25. S.W. Thursday, fair; moderate.
 26. S.W. Friday, moderate; very pleasant.
 27. N.E. Saturday, rain.
 28. S.W. Sunday, fair; very pleasant.

March begins on Monday, hath 31 days.

1. N.W. Monday, snow; P.M. fair, pleasant.
2. w. Tuesday, fair; pleasant.
3. s. Wednesday, fair; moderate.
4. N.E. Thursday, snow.
5. w. Friday, fair; cool. Massacre Oration performed by Dr. B. Church. (Very fine.)
6. S.W. Saturday, fair; pleasant.
7. N.E. Sunday, rain.
8. N.W. Monday, fair; pleasant. General town meeting.
9. S.W. Tuesday, fair; do.

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10. N.E. Wednesday, cloudy.
11. W. Thursday, fair; pleasant.
12. N.W. Friday, fair; cold.
13. W. Saturday, fair; do.
14. N. Sunday, fair; cold
15. N.W. Monday, cold and clear.
16. W. Tuesday, fair; moderate.
17. S.W. Wednesday. Lieut.-Governor Oliver's lady died, *Æ*. 58.
18. W. Thursday, fair; pleasant, but windy.
19. W. Friday, fair; do.
20. S.W. Saturday.
21. N.E. Sunday, cloudy; raw, cold.
22. N.E. Monday, stormy; snow.
23. W. Tuesday, fair; very pleasant.
24. W. Wednesday, do.
25. N.E. Thursday, cold storm; rain.
26. N. Friday, part foul.
27. N.W. Saturday, fair; cold, windy.
28. N.W. Sunday, do., do.
29. N.W. Monday, fair; pleasant.
30. W. Tuesday, warm; do.
31. W. Wednesday, warm; pleasant weather.

April begins on Thursday, hath 30 days.

1. N.E. Thursday, warm showers.
2. N.E. Friday, rain and sleet.
3. N.E. Saturday, cloudy.
4. E. Sunday, pleasant; fair. P.M. fire broke out in Back Street. Consumed Sandeman's meeting-house, Edwards's shop, Kittell's barn, &c.
5. E. Monday, fair; moderate.
6. E. Tuesday, do.
7. S.W. Wednesday, very pleasant.
8. S.W. Thursday, do. Captain Dobel died sudden.
9. S.W. Friday, cloudy. Captain Andrews died very sudden.
10. S.W. Saturday, fair; warm.
11. E. Sunday, rain. Captain Calef and Cartwright, five weeks from London.
12. W. Monday, fair; pleasant. Captain Callahan [and] Coffin from do.
13. E. Tuesday, P.M. large ox drove through the town, with flag on its head; P.M. killed, weight 2,500 lbs.; sold at 6*d.* and 8*d.* per lb., lawful money.
14. E. Wednesday, fair.
15. E. Thursday, rain. Public Fast.
16. N.E. Friday, cloudy.
17. N.E. Saturday, cloudy.
18. N.E. Sunday, cloudy.
19. N.E. Monday, cloudy.

D. M. Wind.

20. E. Tuesday, foggy A.M.; fair sunshine after many days cloudy.
21. N.E. Wednesday, fair; pleasant.
22. N.E. Thursday, fair; do.
23. N.E. Friday, fair; E. P.M.
24. N.E. Saturday, rain.
25. N.E. Sunday, rain.
26. N.E. Monday, drizzly. P.M. Captain Coulson, twenty-nine days from Bristol.
27. N.E. Tuesday, fair. Mrs. Warren died.
28. N.E. Wednesday, rain. Captains Acworth and White from London.
29. N.E. Thursday, cloudy.
30. E. Friday, cloudy.

May begins on Saturday, hath 31 days.

1. N.W. Saturday, fair; pleasant, after great deal of easterly weather.
2. W. Sunday, pleasant.
3. W. Monday, fair; pleasant.
4. S.W. Tuesday, fine; warm.
5. S.W. Wednesday, fine; do. Town meeting.
6. S.W. Thursday, fair; pleasant.
7. E. Friday, fair; pleasant. Governor Hutchinson, General Brattle, Colonel Hancock, Major Hawley, set off for Hartford to meet commissioners to settle the line between New York and this Province.
8. S. Saturday, cloudy.
9. S.W. Sunday, warm.
10. S.W. Monday, do.
11. S.W. Tuesday, do.
12. S.W. Wednesday, do.
13. S.W. Thursday, warm, dry weather.
14. S. Friday, plentiful rain; very seasonable.
15. N.E. Saturday, rain; P.M. fair; pleasant.
16. W. Sunday, fair; pleasant; windy.
17. S. Monday, cloudy.
18. S.W. Tuesday, fair; pleasant. Captain Scott sailed for London.
19. S.W. Wednesday, fair. Rev. Mr. How ordained over N. So. Church, P.M.
20. E. Thursday, rain; fine season.
21. W. Friday, fair; very pleasant.
22. E. Saturday, pleasant.
23. E. Sunday, pleasant.
24. S.W. Monday. Mrs. Tuck died, *Æ*. 68.
25. E. Tuesday, fair.
26. S. Wednesday, cloudy; P.M. pleasant. General election. Selectmen of the town refused dining with the Governor, &c., by reason the commissioners dined with him.

D. M. Wind.

Hallowell hissed at and drew his sword, and Hutton, dirt threw at him, &c.

27. W. Thursday, fair; pleasant.

28. W. Friday, fair; do.

29. N.W. Saturday. King's store-ship burnt in this harbor. The inhabitants greatly surprised, fearing there was a great quantity of gunpowder on board. Thousands retired to the back part of the town, and over to Charlestown, &c.; but no powder happened to be on board.

30. S.W. Sunday, fair and pleasant.

31. S.W. Monday, fair; do.

June begins on Tuesday, hath 30 days.

1. S.W. Tuesday, fair; pleasant; P.M., E. showery. J. Royall ob, [æ] 91.

2. E. Wednesday, cloudy.

3. S.W. Thursday, fair; pleasant.

4. S.W. Friday, fair; warm. King's birthday; general training; the grandest appearance ever known in these parts.

5. S.W. Saturday, fair; P.M. showery.

6. W. Sunday, fair; pleasant. Captains Jenkins, Coffin, and Hall from London.

7. S.W. Monday, fair.

8. W. Tuesday, do.

9. S.W. Wednesday, fair and pleasant.

10. S.W. Thursday, great rain A.M.; fair; pleasant.

11. N.E. Friday, rain. Uncle went out of town.

12. S.W. Saturday, fair; pleasant; cool.

13. S.W. Sunday, do.

14. N.W. Monday, do.

15. N.E. Tuesday, fair.

16. S.W. Wednesday, fair. Governor Hutchinson and Oliver's letters published.

17. S.W. Thursday, warm.

18. S.W. Friday, hot weather; P.M. thunder squall, and rain the last night.

19. S.W. Saturday, fair; hot.

20. S.W. Sunday, hot.

21. W. Monday, hot; pleasant. Uncle and aunt set for Cape Ann, with Mr. Payne, Smith, &c.

22. S.W. Tuesday, pleasant; cool.

23. E. Wednesday, dull.

24. S.W. Thursday, pleasant.

25. E. Friday, cloudy.

26. S.W. Saturday, hot. Uncle and aunt arrived home.

27. E. Sunday, pleasant.

28. S.W. Monday, pleasant.

29. W. Tuesday, very hot; P.M. thunder.

30. N.W. Wednesday, cool and pleasant.

July begins on Thursday, hath 31 days.

D. M. Wind.

1. E. Thursday, fair; pleasant. Major Paddock's son drowned at Cambridge River.
2. E. Friday, fair; do.
3. s.w. Saturday, fair.
4. s.w. Sunday, hot, dry weather.
5. s.w. Monday, hot.
6. s.w. Tuesday, hot; do.
7. s.w. Wednesday, very hot.
8. s.w. Thursday, very hot and dry.
9. s.w. Friday, very hot.
10. s.w. Saturday, very hot; P.M. thunder shower, very seasonable.
11. s.w. Sunday, hot.
12. n.w. Monday, hot.
13. E. Tuesday, fair and pleasant.
14. s.w. Wednesday, warm; P.M. thunder-shower.
15. n.e. Thursday, cloudy.
16. n.w. Friday, fair; very pleasant.
17. n.w. Saturday, fair; do. "*Went to Commencement.*" This for 21.
18. E. Sunday, pleasant. Farewell sermon of our church; leaving old brick, after worshipping with them from 17 May, 1772, while our new house was building, which was 14 months.
19. s.w. Monday, fair; pleasant.
20. s. Tuesday, cloudy; hot; rain.
21. s.w. Wednesday, fair; pleasant.
22. n.w. Thursday, fair; do.
23. n.w. Friday, do. do.
24. s.e. Saturday, merciful rain.
25. w. Sunday, fair; pleasant. This day dedication of the new meeting-house in Brattle Street, by the Rev. Doct. Samuel Cooper.
26. w. Monday, fair and pleasant.
27. n.w. Tuesday, pleasant.
28. s.w. Wednesday, cloudy. This day came on before the Special Court of Admiralty the trial of Ansell Nickerson, for the supposed murder of four persons, two of them his brothers-in-law, one cousin.
29. E. Thursday, cloudy; rain.
30. s.e. Friday, hot, dull weather.
31. w. Saturday, pleasant.

August begins on Sunday, hath 31 days.

1. w. Sunday, hot, dry weather. Mr. Storer resigned his office as deacon of the new meeting-house in Brattle Street.
2. n.e. Monday, cloudy; misty.

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3. N.E. Tuesday, cloudy. Uncle set off alone for Newport, at 11 o'clock.
4. W. Wednesday, fair and pleasant.
5. N.E. Thursday, cloudy; P.M. rain.
6. N.E. Friday, cloudy and showery. Uncle arrived home from Newport. Sunset this day, ended the trial of Ansell Nickerson for the most surprising event which has happened in this and perhaps any other age of the world.
7. N.E. Saturday, cloudy and showery.
8. N.E. Sunday, fair; pleasant. Went to Dr. Cooper's meeting; young Mr. Isaac Smith preached.
9. S.W. Monday, fair.
10. N.E. Tuesday, rain; P.M. fair weather.
11. W. Wednesday, fair; seasonable. Mr. Moses Gill married to R. Boylston.
12. W. Thursday, pleasant; fair.
13. W. Friday, pleasant. Uncle, with the rest of the Selectmen of Boston, visited Deer Island.
14. E. Saturday, plentiful rain; warm. Captain Loyde, seven weeks from London.
15. W. Sunday, fair; pleasant.
16. E. Monday, pleasant.
17. S.W. Tuesday. Uncle went out of town in company with Mr. Smith and Payne.
18. W. Wednesday, fair.
19. W. Thursday, fair; pleasant.
20. W. Friday, fair; do.
21. W. Saturday, fair; do. Mr. Surcomb died.
22. N.W. Sunday. "*I staid at home.*" Fair, pleasant.
23. W. Monday, fair; pleasant; P.M. cloudy.
24. N.W. Tuesday, showery.
25. N. Wednesday, pleasant.
26. N.W. Thursday, pleasant.
27. N.E. Friday, rain.
28. W. Saturday, fine, fair; serene, pleasant weather. Mrs. Green died, *Æ.* 36.
29. S.W. Sunday, fine weather.
30. S.W. Monday, fine; fair.
31. S.W. Tuesday, fair.

September begins on Wednesday, hath 30 days.

1. S.W. Wednesday. My dear mother died twenty minutes before 4 o'clock P.M. A loving, tender mother to her children, beloved by all her friends and acquaintances; *Æ.* 46 years. Dr. Cooper preached the Dudlean Lecture at Cambridge.
2. S.W. Thursday, fair; pleasant; warm.
3. W. Friday, pleasant. My dear mother buried; very long, handsome *pron* [procession?].
4. S.E. Saturday, merciful rain, after dry season.

D. M. Wind.

5. W. Sunday, fair; pleasant.
6. W. Monday, fair. News of Rev. Mr. Tuck's death, æ. 72.
7. W. Tuesday, fair.
8. S.W. Wednesday, dull.
9. S.W. Thursday, refreshing shower, P.M.
10. N.E. Friday, cloudy.
11. W. Saturday, very warm.
12. N.E. Sunday, rain.
13. N. Monday, showery.
14. N. Tuesday. Uncle and aunt, with Mrs. Payne, and Jonathan Amory and wife, set off for Marshfield.
15. N.W. Wednesday, fair; pleasant. General training.
16. N.E. Thursday, mist.
17. E. Friday, raw; cold, easterly like weather.
18. N.E. Saturday, pleasant.
19. N. Sunday, pleasant. Went to Dr. Cooper's meeting; young Mr. Isaac Smith preached.
20. N.W. Monday. Uncle and the company arrived home sunset from Marshfield.
21. N.E. Tuesday, fair. This day I was 24 years of age.
22. S.W. Wednesday, fair. General training for the last time this year.
23. S.W. Thursday, very hot for time of year.
24. E. Friday, hot; P.M. wind N.E.; remarkable cold change of weather. Uncle unwell.
25. W.S.W. Saturday, raw; cold.
26. W.S.W. Sunday, fair.
27. N.W. Monday, warm.
28. S.W. Tuesday, very hot.
29. N.E. Wednesday, refreshing rain after very hot, dry weather.
30. E. Thursday, very raw; cold. Captain Smith, seven weeks from London. "*Willard Gibbs free.*"

October begins on Friday, hath 31 days.

1. N.W. Friday, pleasant; P.M., N.E. raw, cold.
2. E. Saturday, rain.
3. N.E. Sunday, cloudy. P.M. went to Dr. Cooper's; he preached.
4. S.W. Monday, pleasant. Uncle came to shop, after several days' illness. Fair.
5. W. Tuesday, fair; very clear, cool weather.
6. E. Wednesday, cloudy.
7. N.E. Thursday, cloudy; raw; cold. P.M. Mr. John Williams died, æ. 26 years.
8. N.E. Friday, cloudy; raw; cool.
9. N.E. Saturday, cold.
10. W. Sunday, pleasant. "*Staid at home this day upon account of my dear Hannah being unwell with a breaking out on her hands and legs.*" Last Saturday, toward evening, a duel was fought on Noddle's Island, with pistols, be-

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tween Captain Maltby, of the Glasgow man-of-war, and Mr. Finney, late lieutenant of the Marines, on board of the same ship, when the latter received a ball through his neck (not mortal), — not fair play, as they say, — by the captain.

11. E. Monday, fair.
12. E. Tuesday, fair.
13. S.E. Wednesday, P.M. fine rain.
14. S.E. Thursday, pleasant.
15. S. Friday, fair; warm.
16. W. Saturday, pleasant.
17. W. Sunday, fine; pleasant day. Went to Dr. Eliot's meeting; he preached to Levi Ames; very fine sermon: P.M. went to Dr. Cooper's; Rev. Mr. Hunt preached.
18. N.E. Monday, raw; cold; cloudy.
19. N.E. Tuesday, rained.
20. N. Wednesday, fine; fair, serene day.
21. S.W. Thursday, fine; clear day. This day was executed at Boston Levi Ames, for burglary, aged twenty-one years, who was born in Groton, in New England, of a credible family.
22. S. Friday, very fine, clear weather for the time of year.
23. S.W. Saturday, remarkably warm for the season. William Cazeau's wife died.
24. S. Sunday, rained hard. I staid at home.
25. S.E. Monday, cloudy. Caddeck trained; P.M. rain; old Mr. Ridgway ob.
26. N.E. Tuesday, rain. Captain Scott, eight weeks from London. (Mr. Denney, owner.)
27. N.E. Wednesday, rain; P.M. fair, pleasant, w.
28. N.E. Thursday, cloudy. This evening was at Mr. Flagg's concert in Faneuil Hall. "*For the first time my uncle gave me a ticket.*"
29. S.W. Friday, fine, fair weather.
30. W. Saturday, fine; clear.
31. S.W. Sunday. Stayed at home. Fair; pleasant; P.M. cloudy.

November begins on Monday, hath 30 days.

1. S.S.E. Monday, cloudy.
2. N.E. Tuesday, cloudy. A number of printed hand [bills] were pasted up at the corner of most of the streets in town, desiring all the sons of freedom to meet at the Tree of Liberty, on Wednesday, — signed "O. C."
3. N.W. Wednesday, pleasant. Town's sons of freedom mustered at Liberty Tree, waited on the consignees of tea to resign; they would not.
4. S. Thursday, cloudy.
5. S.E. Friday. Town meeting concerning what to do with consignees of tea. At said meeting, a committee was chosen

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to wait on consignees. Their answer was such that the town voted that it was daringly affrontive to the town.

6. S.E. Saturday, pleasant.
7. N.E. Sunday, cloudy. "*I staid at home.*"
8. N.E. Monday, cloudy.
9. S.E. Tuesday, rain.
10. N.W. Wednesday, rain; P.M. fair.
11. W. Thursday, pleasant; clear weather.
12. N.E. Friday, clear weather. Workmen began to set another row of elms in the common.
13. Saturday, cold this morning; the first ice this year.
14. N.W. Sunday, this morning snow, half inch; pleasant day. Stay at home.
15. N.E. Monday, cloudy by times, and pleasant do.
16. E. Tuesday, cloudy. Captain Scott, six weeks from London.
17. S.E. Wednesday, pleasant; very warm. This evening a number of persons assembled before Richard Clarke's, Esq., one of the consignees of tea; they broke the windows, and did other damage. (I was at fire meeting this evening.)
18. N.E. Thursday, cold. Town meeting. A committee was appointed to acquaint the tea commissioners it was the desire of the town that they would now give a final answer to their request; viz., whether they would resign their appointment. Upon which, they sent into the town the following letter, viz.:—

SIR,—In answer to the message we have this day received from the town, we beg leave to say that we have not yet received any orders from the East India Company respecting the expected teas; but we are now further acquainted that our friends in England have entered into penal engagements in our behalf, merely of a commercial nature, which puts it out of our power to comply with the request of the town. We are, sir,

Your most humble servants,

RICHARD CLARKE & SONS.

BENJ^r. FANEUIL, J^r. for self and

JOSHUA WINSLOW, Esq.

ELISHA HUTCHINSON, for my brother and self.

Hon. JOHN HANCOCK, Esq., Moderator of town meeting, assembled at Faneuil Hall.

The answer was voted not satisfactory, and the meeting was immediately dissolved. At noon was launched, at Tyler's yard, a vessel across the street. Very fine launching; a great number of people to see it.

19. N. Friday, raw; cold.
20. S.E. Saturday, cloudy and pleasant.
21. N.E. Sunday, raw; cold.
22. S.E. Monday, pleasant.

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23. S. Tuesday, very pleasant and warm for the season.
 24. N. Wednesday, cloudy.
 25. N.E. Thursday, raw; cold. This day was observed as a day of public Thanksgiving.
 26. N. Friday, clear and cold.
 27. N.E. Saturday, cloudy; P.M. rained. Selectmen set this evening with consignees of tea.
 28. N.E. Sunday, pleasant. Captain Hall, from London in eight weeks; brought 114 chests of the so-much-detested East India Company's tea. The Selectmen set this day. P.M. went to Cooper's meeting; he preached.
 29. W. Monday, fine, clear weather. This morning the following notification was posted up in all parts of the town, viz.:

"Friends, Brethren, Countrymen,—That worst of plagues, the detested tea, shipped for this port by the East India Company, is now arrived in this harbor. The hour of destruction or manly opposition to the machinations of tyranny stares you in the face. Every friend to his country, to himself, and posterity, is now called upon to meet at Faneuil Hall, at nine o'clock this day (at which time the bells will ring), to make a united and successful resistance to this last, worst, and destructive measure of administration."

People accordingly meet at Faneuil Hall, and voted that the tea now arrived in Captain Hall shall be returned to the place from whence it came, at all events. The hall could not contain all the people. (They immediately adjourned to the Old South meeting-house.) They voted to adjourn to the O. South. It was voted that a watch be appointed to consist of twenty-five men. Captain Proctor was appointed to be captain of the watch for this night (of the twenty-five men appointed), then the meeting was adjourned to the next morning, at nine o'clock.

30. S.W. Tuesday, pleasant. This morning the people met according to adjournment. The governor sent a proclamation, commanding all people there assembled forthwith to disperse, and to surcease all further unlawful proceedings at their utmost peril. After it was read by the sheriff, there was immediately a loud and very general hiss. A motion was then made, and the question put whether the assembly would disperse according to the governor's requirement. It passed in the negative. At night, the meeting was dissolved.

December begins on Wednesday, hath 31 days.

1. S. Wednesday, pleasant; at night rain.
 2. E. Thursday, cloudy; P.M. rain. Captain Bruce, eight weeks

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from London, with 116 chests of that detestable tea. This evening "*was at St. Andrew's Lodge, I was chosen Junior Deacon of said Lodge.*"

3. N.E. Friday, rain. This evening I was one of the watch on board of Captain Bruce (with twenty-four more), that has tea for the Clarkes & Co.
4. N.W. Saturday, fine, clear; windy. Captain Coulson, from Bristol.
5. E. Sunday, pleasant.
6. E. Monday, dull; P.M. rain.
7. W. Tuesday, pleasant. Ob. Brother Jenkins.
8. S.W. Wednesday, very fine; summer-like weather.
9. E. Thursday, cloudy.
10. N.E. Friday, rained. Confined with cold. Mrs. Judith Johonnot ob., \AA . 27; daughter of Dr. Cooper.
11. N.W. Saturday, pleasant.
12. W. Sunday, pleasant.
13. N. Monday, cloudy. Eliz. Inches ob., \AA . 20; very amib. young lady.
14. S.E. Tuesday, cloudy. This morning the following hand-bills were posted up, viz.:—

"Friends, Brethren, Countrymen,—The perfidious art of your restless enemies to render ineffectual the late resolutions of the body of the people demand your assembling at the Old South meeting-house, precisely at two o'clock, at which time the bells will ring."

(My uncle at council at Dorchester, turned out their minister, Bowman.) The sons of freedom accordingly meet at Old South. Adjourned till Thursday.

15. S.E. Wednesday, cloudy.
16. E. Thursday, rain. Town and country sons mustered according to adjournment. The people ordered Mr. Rotch, owner of Captain Hall's ship, to make a demand for a clearance of Mr. Harrison, the collector of the custom-house (and he was refused a clearance for his ship). The body desired Mr. Rotch to protest against the custom-house, and apply to the governor for his pass for the castle. He applied accordingly, and the governor refused to give him one. The people, finding all their efforts to preserve the East India Company's tea, at night dissolved the meeting. But behold what followed the same evening: a number of brave men (some say Indians), in less than three hours emptied every chest of tea on board the three ships, commanded by Captains Hall, Bruce, and Coffin (amounting to 342 chests), into the sea.
17. N.E. Friday, rain.
18. N.E. Saturday, cloudy; P.M. rain.

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19. N. Sunday, snowed; P.M. very fine snow.
 20. N.W. Monday, clear and cold, after many days' rain and dull weather. Coldest this season.
 21. N.E. Tuesday, cloudy.
 22. E. Wednesday, cloudy. At fire meeting (at Brother Coolidge's), Brother Dean desired to leave the company on account of the great distance from town.
 23. N.E. Thursday, cloudy.
 24. N. Friday, cloudy.
 25. S.S.E. Saturday, Christmas; remarkably warm and pleasant, very much like spring; P.M. cloudy; evening, rain; wind very high in the night.
 26. N.E. & S.E. Sunday, wind very high; flying clouds.
 27. N.E. Monday, cloudy; this evening snowed.
 28. N. Tuesday, snowed very hard all day. "*My dear Hannah very unwell; out of her head most of this evening.*"
 Last evening Mr. Paul Revere returned here from New York. (The news of the destruction of the tea here gave great satisfaction to all the friends to liberty.) At York, Governor Tryon has engaged to send the tea back to the place from whence it came. (Upon this news, all the bells in town were rung this morning.)
 29. N.W. Wednesday, clear and pleasant.
 30. S.W. Thursday, very pleasant; P.M. cloudy.
 31. S. Friday, cloudy. At noon I went over to Charlestown to see the tea burnt there. The Charlestown sons treated the Boston people very gently [genteelly?]. (Punch and wine at their own expense — of Charlestown.)
 End of this year, 1773.

DIARY FOR 1774.

January begins on Saturday, hath 31 days.

1. S.W. Saturday, warm; rain. Last evening a number of persons went over to Dorchester, and brought from thence part of a chest of tea (that a man there had taken up at the time the Indians destroyed the tea, the 16th of December, 1773), and burnt it in our common the same evening.
 2. S.W. Sunday, very pleasant and warm. "*Yesterday being New Year's Day, my father gave me a new shirt, for which I was greatly obliged to him.*"
 3. S.W. Monday, pleasant.
 4. S. Tuesday, very pleasant. This evening entered to Mr. M'Calpen to learn the back sword.
 5. N.E. Wednesday, cloudy; P.M. snowed hard. Bought two barrels of cider at 5. 10. 0. a barrel.
 6. E. Thursday, cloudy. News from York of Governor Tryon's house being burnt, &c.

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7. N.E. Friday, rain very hard most of the day ; very sloppy walking.
8. W. Saturday, very clear and pleasant. This day I began to make the tops of the glass lamps for this town (for the first to show to the committee).
9. N.W. Sunday, snowed ; P.M. fair, pleasant. Captain Hall sailed for London.
10. N.W. Monday, clear and cold.
11. N.E. Tuesday, cold and cloudy.
12. W. Wednesday, clear and cold.
13. W. Thursday, more moderate weather. Very good sledding ; great plenty provisions and grain. Old Mr. Shem Drown ob., æ. 91 ; he was the first tin-plate worker that ever came to Boston, New England.
14. N.E. Friday, snowed all day.
15. N.E. Saturday, snowed.
16. S.E. Sunday, snowed. Went to Dr. Cooper's ; he preached all day.
17. S. Monday, moderate ; more snow.
18. N.E. Tuesday, snowed ; great deal of snow on the ground at this time. Captain Hood, nine weeks from London.
19. S.W. Wednesday, very fine clear weather, after many days' snow.
20. W. Thursday, fair ; pleasant. About noon there was three barrel of bohea tea burnt in King Street (weight about 700).
21. S.E. Friday, cloudy.
22. N.W. Saturday, very cold.
23. N.E. Sunday, very cold ; snow in evening.
24. N.E. Monday, snow ; P.M. cloudy.
25. N. Tuesday, dull weather ; harbor froze up ; very cold. John Malcom was tarred and feathered (the modern mode of punishment).
26. W. Wednesday. The Great and General Court met at the State House. His Excellency made a speech to both houses, and in his speech said he was required to signify his Majesty's disapprobation of the committees of correspondence in various instances which sit and act during the recess of the General Court by prorogation.
27. W. Thursday, windy ; clear.
28. N.W. Friday, exceedingly cold ; cloudy.
29. W. Saturday, cold.
30. S.W. Sunday, more moderate.
31. N.E. Monday, cloudy ; good passing over the ice to Charlestown.

February begins on Tuesday, hath 28 days.

1. S.W. Tuesday, very pleasant, spring-like weather ; snow in the night.
2. S.W. Wednesday, very pleasant.

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3. N.E. Thursday, snow; P.M. rain.
4. S.W. Friday, clear and pleasant.
5. N. Saturday, cloudy.
6. S.W. Sunday, pleasant.
7. W. Monday, cloudy. Captain Bruce and Captain Coffin sailed for London. In the latter went Jon^d Clarke, one of the consignees for East India Company. This day the Royal American Magazine published for the first [time] (by I. Thomas).
8. N.E. Tuesday, pleasant; P.M. cloudy.
9. N.E. Wednesday, snowed all day fast. Dr. Cooper chosen President of Harvard College, but declined accepting that office.
10. W. Thursday, very pleasant.
11. W. Friday, pleasant. Great deal of snow on the ground at this time.
12. S.E. Saturday, rain.
13. N.E. Sunday, snowed. Went to Dr. Cooper's.
14. W. Monday, cold.
15. N.W. Tuesday, clear and cold.
16. S.W. Wednesday, pleasant. Ob. Mr. Kneeland, æ. 80.
17. S.S.W. Thursday, pleasant. Ob. Mrs. Boylston, mother to Thomas Boylston, eminent merchant of this town.
18. S. Friday, rain. More snow on the ground at this time than has been for these ten years.
19. S.E. Saturday, rain all day; very sloppy.
20. S. Sunday, pleasant.
21. S.W. Monday, do.
22. S.W. Tuesday, do.
23. N.E. Wednesday, cloudy; raw and cold. At fire club this evening.
24. N.W. Thursday, cloudy and cold; P.M. very pleasant.
25. S.W. Friday, pleasant.
26. S.W. Saturday, pleasant; at 12 at night, snow.
27. S.E. Sunday, sloppy weather.
28. S.W. Monday, pleasant.

March begins on Tuesday, hath 31 days.

1. E.N.E. Tuesday, cloudy; P.M. rain.
2. W.S.W. Wednesday. A number of lamps in town were lighted this evening for the first time.
3. W. Thursday. This morning died Andrew Oliver, Esq., Lieut.-Governor of this Province (Massachusetts Bay), æ. 68. Cloudy; P.M. clear and pleasant.
4. W. Friday, cold and pleasant.
5. S.W. Saturday. The Oration in commemoration of the tragical 5th of March, 1770, was pronounced by the Hon. John Hancock, Esq. (Fine.) There was a collection made for the poor, unfortunate young Monk who was wounded

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- on the fatal evening of March 5, 1770. They collected 317. 18. 3. old tenor, for him, which was a great help for Monk.
6. E.S.E. Sunday, rained. Captain Benjamin Gorham, nine weeks from London. Brought $28\frac{1}{2}$ chests of bohea tea, consigned to several persons here.
7. W. Monday, cloudy; P.M. windy. This evening a number of (Indians), as is said, of his Majesty, of Oknookortunkogog tribe, emptied every chest into the dock, and destroyed the whole $28\frac{1}{2}$ chests.
8. S.W. Tuesday, pleasant.
9. N.W. Wednesday. His Excellency prorogued the Great and General Court of this Province.
10. N.W. Thursday, pleasant and windy.
11. S.W. Friday, fair; pleasant.
12. N.W. Saturday, do.
13. S. Sunday, pleasant. "*My Hannah*" went to meeting, after many months' illness.
14. S.E. Monday, cloudy; P.M. rain and snow. General town meeting.
15. N.E. Tuesday, snow; P.M. rain. Mrs. Pierpont ob., *Æ.* 45.
16. S.E. Wednesday, rain.
17. W. Thursday, fair; pleasant.
18. N.E. Friday, snow and rain.
19. N.E. Saturday, cloudy.
20. N.E. Sunday, rain.
21. E. Monday, rain. Mr. Joseph Gale ob., *Æ.* 63.
22. S.W. Tuesday, fair; pleasant.
23. S.W. Wednesday, very pleasant; rain in the night.
24. N. Thursday, fair and cold.
25. S.E. Friday, snow and rain.
26. N.W. Saturday, fair and pleasant.
27. S.E. Sunday, cloudy.
28. N.E. Monday, unpleasant; rain.
29. S. Tuesday, cloudy, foggy; P.M. fair, pleasant.
30. S.W. Wednesday, rain. William Bulfinch ob.
31. W. Thursday, fair; pleasant.

April begins on Friday, hath 30 days.

1. N.E. Friday, fair and cold.
2. S.E. Saturday, cloudy; P.M. snow and rain.
3. S.W. Sunday, pleasant.
4. S.W. Monday, pleasant.
5. S.W. Tuesday, pleasant.
6. W. Wednesday, fair; pleasant; P.M. rain.
7. W.N.W. Thursday, very pleasant. Captain Hood sailed for London; John Tyler went passenger.
8. N.E. Friday, pleasant; P.M. raw, cold.
9. N.E. Saturday, rain all day.

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10. S.W. Sunday, pleasant. My sister Betsey very unwell with slow fever.
11. S.E. Monday, pleasant.
12. S.W. Tuesday, very pleasant; P.M. cold.
13. S.E. Wednesday, pleasant.
14. S.W. Thursday, pleasant; P.M. rain. This day was observed as day of fasting and prayer through this Province. A young lad drowned (of the castle) out of a canoe.
15. S.W. Friday, very pleasant; P.M. rain; thundered.
16. S.E. Saturday, pleasant and cold. About this time workmen began to set a row of trees each side Boston Neck.
17. S.W. Sunday, pleasant.
18. S.W. Monday, do.
19. S.E. Tuesday, very pleasant. P.M. Captain Folger, six weeks from London, brought word of Captain Winthrop being drowned. At 8 o'clock this evening, my loving sister Betsey died, Æ . 21 years and 10 months; she was to have been married the week she was taken ill (to Mr. David Allin). Thundered very hard about 12 o'clock this night; very sharp lightning.
20. S.W. Wednesday, pleasant.
21. S.E. Thursday, fair. Captain Symmes, six weeks from London.
22. E. Friday, fair; cool.
23. S.S.W. Saturday, clear and pleasant.
24. S.S.W. Sunday, very hot.
25. S. Monday, fair and pleasant. Captain White, eight weeks from London.
26. S.E. Tuesday, raw, cold. Captain Calef, seven weeks from London.
27. E. Wednesday, raw, cold; this evening thundered and lightning.
28. W. Thursday, clear and cold.
29. E. Friday, raw, cold; rain, very severe.
30. E. Saturday, cold; rain.

May begins on Sunday, hath 31 days.

1. E. Sunday, rain. Captain Callahan, six weeks from London.
2. S.E. Monday, rain. News from York of 18 chests of bobea tea being destroyed there.
3. S.W. Tuesday, fair; pleasant.
4. S.E. Wednesday, rain.
5. E. Thursday, raw, cold; hard frost.
6. S.W. Friday, fair; pleasant.
7. N.E. Saturday, fair; pleasant. Captain Baker, seven weeks from Bristol.
8. E. Sabbath-day. At Dr. Cooper's; young Aloit [Eliot] preached. Pleasant. His Majesty's ship Mercury arrived here, in eight weeks from London.
9. N.E. Monday, fair; pleasant. Last night Mrs. Bowes ob., Æ . , wife of Mr. Will^m Bowes, Dock Square.

D. M. Wind.

10. N.E. Tuesday. Town meeting for choice of representatives. John Hancock, Esq., Thomas Cushing, Esq., William Phillips, and Samuel Adams, chosen to represent the town of Boston. Captain Shayler, five weeks from London; brought news of this harbor being shut up by a act of Parliament of Great Britain.
11. E. Wednesday, fair; pleasant. Captain Jenkins, five weeks from London; Captain Scott from do.: William Dennie, owner.
12. N.E. Thursday, fair; pleasant.
13. E. Friday, pleasant. Captain Barnes, five weeks from Bristol, and Lyde from London. His Majesty's ship Lively, from London, with General Gage on board. Town meeting to consider proper measures to be taken under our public affairs, more especially relative to the late edict of a British Parliament for blocking up the harbor of Boston, and annihilating the same. A committee was chosen to go to several towns. Mr. P. Revere was chosen to go express to York and Philadelphia, &c., &c.
14. E.N.E. Saturday, rained.
15. E. Sabbath-day, pleasant.
16. N.E. Monday, rain. Captain Hall, five weeks from London; Mr. William Turner, Mr. Rotch, owner of Hall's ship, came passengers.
17. N.E. Tuesday, rain. Governor Thomas Hutchinson, that had governor, superseded by Thomas Gage, Esq., who arrived last Friday. (Tho. Gage, Esq., dined at Fan-uil Hall with a large company.)
18. S.W. Wednesday, fair; pleasant. Town meeting, per adj.
19. S.W. Thursday, fair, do. Day of prayer.
20. N.W. Friday, pleasant. Captain Gorham sailed for London. Jonathan Williams, Jr., went passenger, owner, &c.
21. S. Saturday, very warm; about noon, thunder and rain.
22. W. Sabbath-day, fair; pleasant. David Allin sailed in Captain Morton for Jamaica.
23. S.W. Monday, very pleasant. Merchants' meeting.
24. S.E. Tuesday, pleasant. Merchants' meeting continued.
25. E. Wednesday. General election; the Rev. Mr. Gad Hitchcock preached, of Pembroke, from these words, in Proverbs, chap. 29, v. 2: When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn.
His Excellency made a speech to both houses; in his speech, he said, the first of June he should meet the court at Salem, and why he made mention of the first of next month was because he had his Majesty's particular commands for holding the General Court at Salem from that day.
26. E. Thursday, rained very hard this morning.

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27. W. Friday, fair; pleasant.
 28. W. Saturday, fair; pleasant. His Excellency the Governor was pleased to adjourn General Assembly to Wednesday, 7 of June, then to meet at Salem.
 29. E. Sabbath-day, fair; pleasant.
 30. W. Monday, do.
 31. S.W. Tuesday, thunder and rain A.M.; fair, warm P.M. Captain Calef sailed for London.

June begins on Wednesday, hath 30 days.

1. W. Wednesday. Governor Hutchinson, his son and daughter, sailed for London in Captain Callahan. Port of Boston by the cruel edict of the British Parliament is shut up. Tell it in Gath, publish it in Askelon. Three transports, with troops on board, arrived at Nantasket road, from England.
2. W. Thursday, fair; pleasant. Captain Williamson, in thirty-six days from Bristol, with copy of another cruel act of Parliament.
3. E. Friday, pleasant; P.M. rain.
4. W. Saturday, fair; pleasant.
5. S.W. Sabbath-day, do. Jonathan Mason's wife died, æ. 50. Richard Draper, printer. "*I was not at meeting.*"
6. Monday, warm. Artillery election; Rev. John Larthrop preached a very suitable sermon.
7. S.W. Tuesday, fair; very warm.
8. S.W. Wednesday, pleasant.
9. N.E. Thursday, cold.
10. S.W. Friday, pleasant.
11. S. Saturday, very warm.
12. S.E. Sabbath-day, cloudy; rain.
13. S.S.W. Monday, rain most of the day.
14. S.W. Tuesday, very pleasant. The 4th, or King's own Regiment, landed at the Long Wharf, and marched to the common, where they encamped.
15. S.E. Wednesday, fair; pleasant; P.M. rain and thunder. A.M. 43d Regiment landed at the Long Wharf, and marched to the common, and there encamped. Most of the stores on the Long Wharf are now shut up. Thus are we surrounded with fleet and army; the harbor shut, all navigation cease, and not one topsail vessel to be seen but those of our enemies. Oh, let not posterity forget our sufferings.
16. W. Thursday, pleasant. Tradesman's meeting.
17. E. Friday, rain. Town meeting, pr. adjournment; Governor dissolved General Court.
18. W. Saturday, fair; pleasant.
19. S. Sabbath, fair; warm. His Majesty's sloop arrived. At Dr. Cooper's.

D. M. Wind.

- 20. S.E. Monday, fair; pleasant; P.M. rain.
- 21. N.E. Tuesday, rain all day.
- 22. W. Wednesday, fair; pleasant. One transport arrived from Ireland.
- 23. E. Thursday, cloudy; warm. P.M. uncle went to Sherburne.
- 24. S.E. Friday, rain; P.M. fair.
- 25. W. Saturday, fair; pleasant.
- 26. S. Sabbath, hot.
- 27. S.W. Monday, very hot. Town meeting.
- 28. S. Tuesday, hot. Town ditto.
- 29. S. Wednesday, hot; P.M. shower.
- 30. S. Thursday, A.M. small shower; hot; fine growing season.

Proclamation, by the Governor (Thomas Gage):—

Whereas, certain persons, calling themselves a committee of correspondence for the town of Boston, have lately presumed to make, or caused to be made, an instrument purporting to be a solemn league and covenant, whereby they are most solemnly to covenant and engage to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until certain acts of the British Parliament shall be repealed, I hereby earnestly caution all persons whatsoever, within this Province, against signing the aforesaid covenant, or any similar covenant, &c., &c., &c.

July begins Friday, hath 31 days.

- 1. N.E. Friday, small showers in morning. Admiral Greaves arrived with his fleet, from London. More transports arrived from Ireland, with 5th and 38th Regiments.
- 2. S.W. Saturday, fair, warm. A.M. Artillery from Castle William landed, with eight brass cannon, and encamped in the common. 258 sheep given for the relief of this town by the town of Windham, in Connecticut. (I cut my hair off.)
- 3. S.W. Lord's day, fair; P.M. rained. Went to Dr. Cooper's.
- 4. N.E. Monday, fair; pleasant. 38th Regiment landed at Hancock's Wharf, and encamped in the common.
- 5. E. Tuesday, fair; pleasant. 5th Regiment landed at the Long Wharf, encamped in common.
- 6. S. Wednesday, cloudy; warm.
- 7. S. Thursday, pleasant; P.M. rain. Admiral Montague and family sailed in the Captain man-of-war, for England.
- 8. N.W. Friday, fair, clear weather. About this time arrived three wagon-loads of grain from the towns of Groton, Pepperrell, and Wrentham, for the poor of this town; and this day 105 sheep from our worthy friends in Pomfret, for the like purpose.
- 9. W. Saturday, fair; pleasant.
- 10. N.W. Lord's day, fair; pleasant. At Dr. Cooper's; Rev. Mr. How preached A.M.

D. M. Wind.

11. S.W. Monday, clear and pleasant; rain in the night.
12. W. Tuesday, A.M. rain; P.M. fair, pleasant.
13. W. Wednesday, pleasant.
14. N.W. Thursday, fair, pl. A day of prayer through the Providence; not by authority.
15. S.W. Friday, fair; pleasant.
16. N.W. Saturday, fair, ditto.
17. S. Lord's day, hottest day this season; evening, rain and thundered.
18. S.E. Monday, cloudy; rain A.M.; P.M. fair, pleasant.
19. N.W. Tuesday, fine, clear weather. Town meeting.
20. S. Wednesday, fair; pleasant.
21. S. Thursday, warm.
22. S.W. Friday, dusty; high wind.
23. S. Saturday, fair; warm.
24. S.W. Lord's day, pleasant; P.M. rain.
25. W. Monday, fair; pleasant.
26. S.W. Tuesday, fair. Town meeting.
27. S.E. Wednesday, warm.
28. S.E. Thursday, small shower A.M.
29. S.W. Friday, pleasant.
30. S. Saturday, clouds flying.
31. S. Lord's day, this morning rain; very warm day.

August begins on Monday, hath 31 days.

1. S. Monday, fair; pleasant; warm.
2. W. Tuesday, fair. This morning arrived in town 11 loads table fish, from our worthy friends of Marblehead; 224 quintals (for the poor of this town), and a q^t [quantity?] of oil, and £40 lawful money, in cash.
3. S.E. Wednesday, fair; pleasant.
4. W. Thursday, do. do.
5. N.E. Friday, clear.
6. N.E. Saturday, raw; cold A.M. The Scarborough man-of-war arrived, nine weeks from England; P.M. three transports from Halifax, with the 59th Regiment on board, and company of artillery, and brass cannon, eight days out. (The 59th Regiment some time the next week landed at Salem, and encamped.)
7. E. Lord's day, fair. A.M. three transports from New York with the Royal Regiment of Welsh Fusileers and detachment of Royal Artillery, and a quantity of ordnance stores, &c.; P.M. old Phillis ob. Mr. Joseph Jackson ob. (truckman).
8. S. Monday, fair; warm. Company of artillery landed; encamped in common.
9. N.E. Tuesday, fair. This morning the regiment Welsh Fusileers, or 23d Regiment, landed at Long Wharf, and encamped on Fort Hill. Town meeting.

D. M. Wind.

10. N.E.

Wednesday, fair; pleasant. This morning the Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Esq., delegates appointed by the General Assembly for this Province, to attend the General Congress, to be holden at Philadelphia some time next month, set out from hence, attended by a number of gentlemen, who accompanied them to Wattertown, where an elegant entertainment was provided for them. After dinner, they proceeded on their journey.

This night, about 11 o'clock, a fire broke out in a large brick house in Fish Street. The fire had got to such height before the unhappy tenants were apprised of it, that the following unhappy persons perished in the flames: viz., Mrs. Ruth Murphy, far gone with child; Ruth and Catherine Murphy, her children; Mrs. Elly Flinn, and Mrs. Hannah Whittemore.

11. s. Thursday, fair; warm. This day the delegates for New Hampshire passed through this town on their way to Philadelphia, to attend General Congress.

12. s.w. Friday, fair; pleasant. Went a-gunning after small birds, returned at night.

13. E. Saturday, fair. Arrived in town 376 sheep from our sympathizing brethren of Lebanon, in Colony of Connecticut, for the benefit of the poor of this distressed town.

14. s. Sabbath, fair; pleasant.

15. s.w. Monday, hot, dry weather.

16. s.e. Tuesday, fair; hot.

17. s.e. Wednesday, cloudy; P.M. thunder; merciful rain after very dry time; rained most of the night.

18. n.w. Thursday, small rain; P.M. fair.

19. s.e. Friday, fair morning. Shooting small birds.

20. s. Saturday, fair; pleasant.

21. s.e. Lord's day, pleasant. At Dr. Cooper's all day.

22. w. Monday, cloudy; warm; very high winds. John Williams sailed for Philadelphia in Captain Gorham.

23. n.e. Tuesday, this morning thundered and lightning; rained very hard all day; merciful rain after very dry time.

24. E. Wednesday, rain. Fire at Salem; some disturbance there.

25. n.e. Thursday, rain.

26. w. Friday, clear; very pleasant after blessed rain. Meeting of committee from several towns at Faneuil Hall.

27. Saturday, fair; pleasant. Governor Thomas Gage came to town from Salem. Several presents from our brethren in the country; \$290 cash from Norwich, and cash from many others this week.

28. w. Lord's day, fair; pleasant.

29. s. Monday, fair; pleasant.

D.M. Wind.

30. S.W.

Tuesday, fair; warm. Town meeting. Per advertisement, this day the Superior Court was holden here. When the court was seated, the grand jurors one and all refused to be sworn. The petit were then called for, they likewise refused to be sworn in. Some said the reasons was that Peter Oliver, Esq., chief justice of that court, stood impeached by the late Honorable House of Representatives of this Province, in their own name, and in the name of the Province, of divers high crimes and misdemeanors.

31. S. Wednesday, fair; warm. Joseph Tyler ob. At sunset rain and thunder.

September begins on Thursday, hath 30 days.

1. W. Thursday. This morning, half after four, about 260 troops embarked on board thirteen boats at the Long Wharf, and proceeded up Mystic River to Temple Farm, where they landed; went to the powder-house on Quarry Hill, in Charlestown bounds, from whence they have taken 250 half-barrels of gunpowder, the whole store there, and carried it to the castle. A detachment from this corps went to Cambridge and brought off two field-pieces.
2. S.W. Friday, fair; warm. From these several hostile appearances, the county of Middlesex took the alarm, and on last evening began to collect in large bodies, with their arms, provisions, and ammunitions, &c. This morning some thousands of them advanced to Cambridge, armed only with sticks. The committee of Cambridge sent express to Charlestown, who communicated the intelligence to Boston, and their respective committee proceeded to Cambridge without delay. Thomas Oliver, S. Danforth, J. Lee, made declaration and resignation of a seat in the new constituted council, which satisfied the body. At sunset, they began to return home. At dark, rain and thundered very hard.
3. S.E. Saturday, cloudy this afternoon. Four large field-pieces were dragged from the common by the soldiery and placed at the only entrance into this town by land. The Lively frigate, of twenty guns, came to her mooring in the ferry-way between Boston and Charlestown.
4. S.W. Lord's day, fair; pleasant.
5. E. Monday, cloudy; P.M. rain. Artillery training.
6. N.E. Tuesday, clear and cold.
7. W. Wednesday, fair; pleasant.
8. N.E. Thursday, do. A number of the poor of this town are now employed about making bricks, at the new yard belonging to the town, on the Neck.

D. M. Wind.

9. N.E. Friday, raw; cold. At 8 o'clock this morning, Valentine Dukett of the (65th Regiment, now at Halifax), was shot, for desertion, on our common, in the rear of the camp. P.M. rain.
10. W. Saturday, fair; pleasant.
11. S.W. Lord's day. Unwell. Fair.
12. W. Monday, fair; pleasant.
13. N.E. Tuesday, cloudy. Town meeting, pr. adjournment. At night, rain. P.M. the 59th Regiment arrived in town from Salem, and are now encamped on our Boston Neck.
14. W. Wednesday, fair, pleasant.
15. W. Thursday, fair, do. Last night all the cannon in the North Battery were spiked up: it is said to be done by about one hundred men (who came in boats) from the man-of-war in this harbor.
16. S.W. Friday, fair, pleasant.
17. W. Saturday, fair; very pleasant. Last night, townspeople took four brass cannon from the gun-house near, very near the common.
18. S. Lord's day, fair; warm. At Dr. Samuel Cooper's all day. At night, rained very hard.
19. E. Monday, cloudy. Most of our town carpenters, with a number from the country, are now employed in building barracks for the army. Hundreds of the soldiery are now employed in repairing and mantling the fortification at the entrance of the town. The 59th Regiment with a number of other soldiery are now throwing up an entrenchment on the Neck.
20. S.E. Tuesday, cloudy. Some cannon removed (by the man-of-war's men) from the mill-pond. Captain Scott arrived in seven weeks (at Salem) from London; brought a bell for the Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper's meeting-house, which weighs 2,700 gro.; said to be the largest on the Continent, and is the generous present of the Hon. John Hancock, Esq., to our society.
21. N.E. Wednesday, cloudy. Town meeting for choice of representatives, when the following gentlemen were chosen; viz., the Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, Esq., Hon. John Hancock, Esq., William Phillips, Esq.
22. E. Thursday, fair; pleasant. P.M. town meeting pr. adj.
23. W. Friday, do. do.
24. W. Saturday, very fine weather.
25. S.W. Lord's day, fair. At Dr. Cooper's all day; Mr. Cushing present all the day; fine sermon.
26. S.S.E. Monday, fair; pleasant. All the carpenters (of the town and country, this morning) that were employed in building barracks for the soldiery, all left off work at the barracks, &c., &c.

D.M. Wind.

27. w. Tuesday, fair, pleasant. Captain Calef arrived at Salem in seven weeks from London; in same came passengers, — Mr. Nathaniel Wheatley and his lady, and Mr. John Steel Tyler.
28. s.w. Wednesday, fair; pleasant. This day a thousand bushels grain arrived at Salem, from Quebec, for the use of the poor in this town. This day Joseph Scott, Esq., has given his countrymen great uneasiness by selling the troops two large cannon and a great quantity of cannon-balls and other implements of war.
29. w. Thursday, very fair; pleasant.

By the Governor, a Proclamation.

Whereas, on the first day of September I thought fit to issue writs for calling a great and general court or assembly, to be convened and held at Salem, on the 5th October, &c.; and whereas, from many tumults and disorders which have since taken place, the extraordinary resolves which have been passed in many of the counties, the instructions given by the town of Boston, and some other towns, to their representatives, &c., &c., —

I have therefore thought fit to declare my intention not to meet the said General Court at Salem on the 5th of October next, &c.

THOMAS GAGE.

30. s.w. Friday, fair; pleasant.

October begins on Saturday, hath 31 days.

1. s.w. Saturday, fair, warm.
2. s.e. Lord's day, rain this morning. At Dr. Cooper's all day.
3. n.e. Monday, cold; fair. My father went out of town, &c. Artillery training for the last time this year.
4. n.w. Tuesday, clear and cold.
5. w. Wednesday, fair; pleasant.
6. s. Thursday, fair; very pleasant. We hear there was a fire at Salem, which burnt ten houses and one meeting-house, shops, &c. One old woman was killed in the hurry.
7. n.e. Friday, cool.
8. n.w. Saturday, very foggy this morning, heavy dew; p.m. fair, pleasant.
9. s.w. Lord's day, fair; pleasant. A.M. at Dr. Cooper's meeting; Dorchester minister preached all day. P.M. stay at home.
10. s.w. Monday, fair. This morning died Robert Ball, for many years a noted pilot. A number of fat cattle arrived in town from our brethren of Lebanon, in the Colony of Connecticut.
11. n.w. Tuesday, fair; pleasant. This morning William White, Esq., died. This day the Provincial Congress met at Concord. Yesterday Captain Callahan arrived at Salem

D. M. Wind.

- from London, with whom came passengers Mr. Samuel Whitwell, Mr. David Black, &c.
12. W. Wednesday, fair; pleasant. Last night the Rose man-of-war arrived here from Newfoundland, with three companies of the 65th Regiment.
13. S. Thursday, fair; warm.
14. S.E. Friday. This morning the three companies of the 65th Regiment landed, and now in barracks in King Street. Rain in the evening.
15. S.W. Saturday, very pleasant. This week Dr. Langdon, of Portsmouth, was installed President of Harvard College at Cambridge.
16. S.E. Lord's day, fair; pleasant; at noon small shower. At Dr. Cooper's all day; he preached.
17. N.W. Monday, fair, pleasant. P.M. at Charlestown at my aunt Wyer's funeral. P. Revere returned in town (express) from the Grand American Congress, at Philadelphia. Last Friday the Provincial Congress adjourned from Concord to Cambridge, to meet this day; accordingly met.
18. N.W. Tuesday, fair; pleasant; very fine weather for the season. Captain Brown arrived at Salem with generous donation from our brethren of the County of Monmouth, in New Jersey, consisting of twelve hundred bushels of rye, and fifty barrels rye flour.
19. N.E. Wednesday, fair; pleasant. Captain Boyd is arrived at Salem from Hartford, in Connecticut, and has brought about nine hundred bushels grain for the poor of this town.
20. S.W. Thursday, fair; pleasant.
21. S.E. Friday, cloudy.
22. S.S.E. Saturday, warm A.M.; P.M. showery. This morning, about 7 o'clock, after three days' illness, Mr. William Molineaux died, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. (A true son of liberty and of America.) It may with truth be said of this friend, that he died a martyr to the interest of America. His watchfulness, labors, distresses, and exertions to promote the general interest, produced an inflammation in his bowels, of which he died. "Oh, save my country, Heaven," he said, and died. This morning Mr. Thomas Gray broke his leg. A drove of sheep arrived in town from our brethren of Scituate, in the Colony of Rhode Island.
23. S.W. Lord's day, foggy morning. At Dr. Cooper's; and Rev. Mr. Storer, of Marblehead, preached all day. This day four transports arrived here from New York, with a company royal artillery, a large quantity of ordnance stores for Castle William, three companies of the Royal Regiment of Ireland, or the 18th Regiment, and the 47th Regiment on board.

1877.]

DIARY OF MR. THOMAS NEWELL.

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D. M. Wind.

24. S.E. Monday, foggy. Captain Tyler arrived at Salem, in forty-four days from Bristol.
25. S. Tuesday, very warm. Town meeting, according to adjournment.
26. S. Wednesday, fair; remarkably warm for the time of year.
27. N.E. Thursday, cloudy; in the evening small rain.
28. E. Friday, rain all day. This day the bell at Dr. Cooper's was hung and rung for the first time; the weight of new bell is 3,220 net, with this motto on it:—

"I to the church the living call,
And to the grave I summons all."

Captain Coffin arrived at Salem, in seven weeks from London.

29. W. Saturday, fair; pleasant. Captain Hood arrived at Salem, from London. The Provincial Congress resolved, with other resolves, that Henry Gardner, Esq., of Stow, be Province Treasurer or Receiver-general. This day adjourned to 23d November next. Arrived here several transports, with troops on board, from Quebec,—10th and 52d Regiments.
30. S.W. Lord's day, fair; pleasant.
31. S.E. Monday, very do.

November begins on Tuesday, hath 30 days.

1. N.E. Tuesday, warm; pleasant. Town meeting, per adjournment. P.M. raw, cold.
2. N.W. Wednesday, cold.
3. N.W. Thursday, fair; pleasant. Town meeting, per adjournment.
4. N.E. Friday, fair; pleasant. This evening 400 or 500 of bohea and green tea was burnt in Charlestown.
5. N.E. Saturday, rain. Pope day, and weather.
6. S.E. Lord's day, fair; pleasant. At Dr. Cooper's.
7. S.E. Monday, rain. Town meeting, pr. adjournment.
8. N.W. Tuesday, fair; pleasant.
9. N.E. Wednesday, do. do. This evening arrived in town the Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, Esq., and Robert Treat Paine, Esq., the delegates for this Province to the late Grand American Congress. The people testified their joy of their arrival by ringing of the bells, &c.
10. N.W. Thursday, very cold. One Richard Cuitt, mariner, on board one of the transports lying at Hancock's Wharf, cut his throat with a razor, and murdered himself. He was buried under the gallows, &c. This day a proclamation by the Governor (Thomas Gage), strictly prohibiting all persons complying with the recommendations of the Provincial Congress, &c., &c.

D. M. Wind.

11. N.E. Friday, raw; cold.
12. E.&S. Saturday, A.M. raw; cold; P.M. very warm, spring-like weather.
13. N.E. Lord's day, cloudy. At Dr. Cooper's; A.M. Rev. Dr. Eliot preached; P.M. Dr. Cooper.
14. N.E. Monday, cloudy; fine rain.
15. S.E. Tuesday, cloudy; warm. About 3 o'clock this morning thundered very hard, and lightning very sharp; rain.
16. S.E. Wednesday, rain all day. Mr. Thomas Gray died, æ. 53, at Hingham, with his broken leg.
17. S.W. Thursday, clear and cold. Captain Shepard arrived from London, at Salem, about five weeks' passage.
18. N.E. Friday. Captain Folger arrived. Mistake (Shepard) spoke with Folger. Lately arrived in town, as a free gift, 150 sheep from the town of Smithfield, and 57 from Johnstone, and 122 from Scituate, in Rhode Island Colony, and 250 from Stonington in Connecticut.
19. Saturday, flying clouds and very cold. The following donations have been received during this week: from Candia Parish, in the Province of New Hampshire, £3. 0. 0. lawful money, and 84 sheep; from Concord, in Pennecock River, New Hampshire, 30 bushels of pease; from Rehoboth, £14 L. money; from Rehoboth and East Greenwich, 112 sheep; from Tiverton, 72 sheep; from Glassenbury, 160 bushels of grain; from Southington, 150 bushels do.; from Weathersfield, 73 bushels do.; from Middleton, 1080 bushels do.; and from Mr. Samuel Moody, schoolmaster at Newbury Falls, five guineas.
20. N.W. Lord's day, fair and cold. At Dr. Cooper's; A.M. Rev. Mr. Hunt preached; P.M. Dr. Cooper.
21. N.E. Monday, cloudy; rain and snow in the evening; in the night, wind very high. The shipping in the harbor received great damage. Most of the transports damaged.
22. N.E. Tuesday, rain and snow.
23. N.E. Wednesday, cloudy. This day the Provincial Congress met at Cambridge.
24. N.E. Thursday, cloudy, cold.
25. S.E. Friday, rained; high wind. Captain Folger arrived from London, at Salem.
26. N.W. Saturday, very pleasant.
27. S.W. Lord's day, fair; pleasant. At Dr. Cooper's; P.M. stranger preached.
28. S. Monday, fair; pleasant. Captains Shayler and Bruce arrived at Salem from London.
29. S.W. Tuesday, fair; spring-like weather.
30. S.E. Wednesday, rain all day. At fire meeting this evening.

December begins on Thursday, hath 31 days.

D. M. Wind.

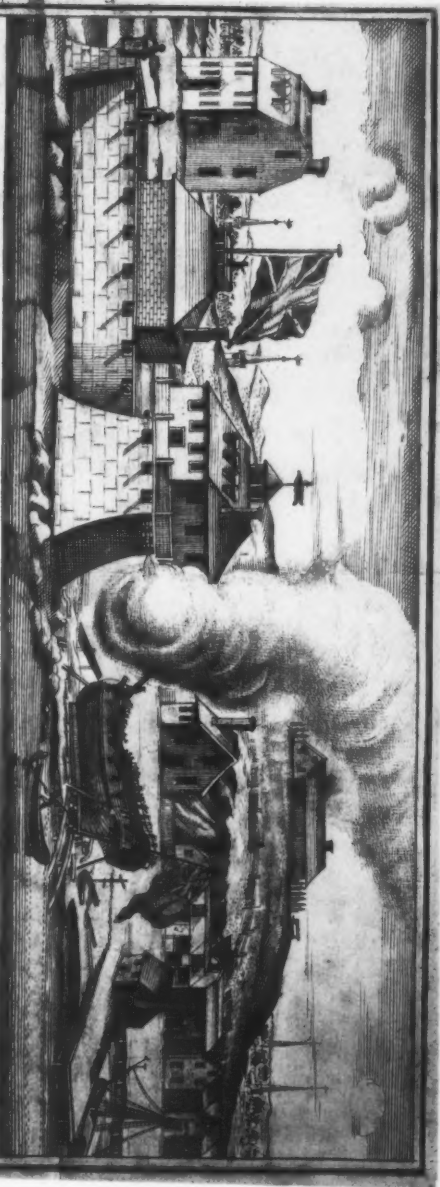
1. S.W. Thursday, fair; pleasant.
2. N.W. Friday, fair, do.
3. E. Saturday, cloudy; P.M. warm. Donations received the last week from the county of Litchfield, Connecticut, £19. 3. 0. lawful money, and 51 head of cattle; from Colchester, 94 sheep and 5 cattle; from Fairfield, 750 bushels grain; from Mr. Sylvanus How, of Petersham, 11 quarters of mutton, 123 pounds weight.
4. Lord's day, rain this morning; P.M. fair. At Dr. Cooper's; Rev. Mr. Bacon preached. Captain Brown arrived from London, at Salem, in thirty-five days. Yesterday arrived the Scarborough man-of-war which went express from hence to England the beginning of September last.
5. S.E. Monday, rain. Last week was sold in town by a Mr. John Robinson, of Dorchester, two oxen, supposed to be the largest and fattest that ever was raised in New England; tallow weighing 464 pounds, the amount of the whole 3,237.
6. S.E. Tuesday, rain.
7. N.E. Wednesday, rain.
8. E. Thursday, cloudy. Mrs. Elizabeth Storer died, aged 41 years, wife of Ebenezer Storer, merchant.
9. N.E. Friday, snow, rain, and hail.
10. N.E. Saturday, rain. The Provincial Congress at Cambridge, having finished the business necessary to be immediately despatched, dissolved themselves.
11. N.W. Lord's day, clear and cold. At Dr. Cooper's; A.M. Rev. Mr. How preached.
12. N.E. Monday, cold.
13. N.E. Tuesday, cold, and snowed.
14. E. Wednesday, cloudy, and small snow.
15. S.E. Thursday. This day observed agreeable to the recommendation of the Provincial Congress, as a day of public thanksgiving throughout the Province.
16. N.W. Friday, clear and cold.
17. S.E. Saturday, pleasant. This day the Boyne man-of-war of 64 guns, and the Asia of 60 guns, lately arrived below, came up into this harbor, and are at anchor within musket-shot of the town.
18. S.E. Lord's day, fair; pleasant.
19. N.E. Monday, rain. This morning, the Somerset man-of-war, of 64 guns, arrived in this harbor.
20. N.W. Tuesday, clear and cold.
21. N.W. Wednesday, do.
22. N.E. Thursday, snowed.

Mr. WHITMORE sent to the meeting for exhibition an original engraved view of the "South Battery in Boston," on a certificate of membership as an "enlisted Montross," or under-gunner. This engraving belonged to the Essex Institute, by whose permission a heliotype has been made for this volume. The Society already possessed the original copperplate of a similar certificate for a "montross," containing the view of the "North Battery in Boston," engraved by Paul Revere. Copies of each are inserted in this volume.

Mr. DEANE communicated a Memoir of Dr. John Appleton, who was for many years Assistant Librarian of the Society.

The President, Mr. WINTHROP, also laid before the meeting a Memoir of the Hon. John H. Clifford.

Those Memoirs are here presented.



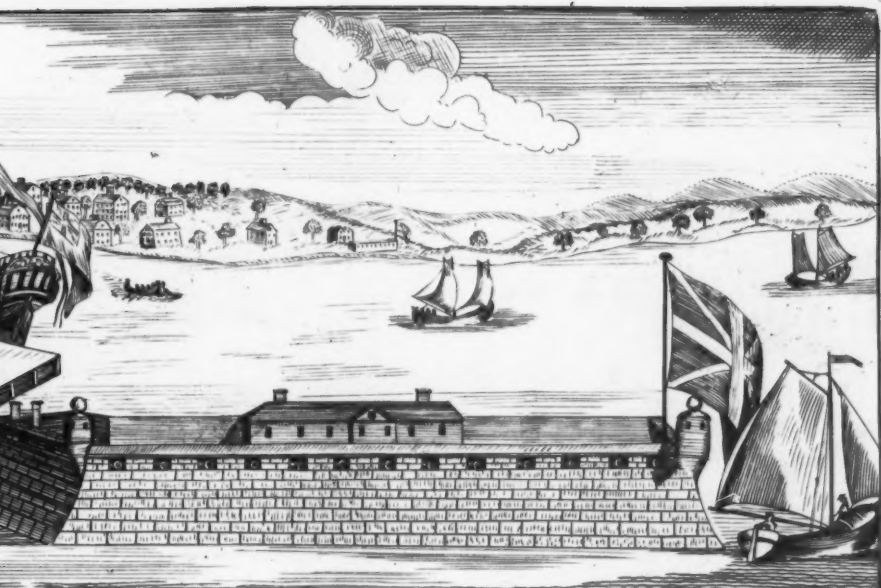
This may Certify all whom it may Concern That Mr
 is an Insulted Montrois.
 at his MAJESTY'S South-Battery, in Boston, under my
 Command. Given under my Hand this
 Year of his Majesty's reign.
 Esq^r



This may Certify all v

MAJESTY'S NORTH-B

*Given under my Hand
Year of his Majesty's reign*



(Reverse Sculpt)

all whom it may Concern; that the Bearer hereof
 is an Indistinct **MONTROSS** at his
BATTERY, in Boston under my Command.
 and this In the
 reign

MEMOIR
OF
JOHN APPLETON, M.D.

BY CHARLES DEANE.

THE subject of this sketch was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on the 9th of January, 1809. As a boy, he attended school in that town until his fifteenth year (in 1824), when his father died. Under the direction of his guardian, Major John Prince, clerk of the courts, young Appleton, in the interval of his studies, was employed in the clerk's office at Salem. While there, a love for antiquarian and genealogical researches seems to have been developed. About this time, he chose medicine as his future profession; but, owing to some opposition of his guardian, he was not able to commence the study of it till he became of age. In February, 1830, he entered the office of Dr. A. L. Pierson, of Salem; and, in the winter of 1830-31, he attended the medical school of Harvard University. During his studies, he also read with Dr. William J. Walker, of Charlestown, and Dr. Winslow Lewis, of Boston. In February, 1833, he graduated as Doctor of Medicine, and took the Boylston prize. He practised in his profession for a short time in Boston, and subsequently in Hamilton, Essex County, 1833-34; Gloucester, 1835-39; Westfield, Hampden County, 1839-42; West Newbury and Georgetown, Essex County, 1843-55. He was quite successful in the practice of medicine; but its duties were arduous, and wore upon his constitution. At one period of his life, he was a successful lecturer, not only upon subjects relating to his profession, but upon biography, temperance, — of which he was an ardent advocate, — and upon music. He was an accomplished musician, and an occasional composer. He painted in oils and water-colors, and sketched with considerable skill.

In 1855, he accepted the invitation of the Historical Society — through the solicitation of his friend, Dr. Shurtleff — to fill the place of Assistant Librarian, which position he continued to occupy till December, 1868, a few weeks before his death, when he resigned. At the time Dr. Appleton entered upon this service, the Society had resolved to

print a catalogue of its library; and he at once devoted the hours not employed in the general administration of the library to this work. He not only completed the cataloguing of all the printed books and pamphlets, but corrected the proof-sheets while the work was going through the press. In all this he showed ample historical and bibliographical knowledge for the work. The first volume of the catalogue was published in 1859, and the second in the following year.

Dr. Appleton also rendered important service in copying ancient manuscripts for the Society's publications, and in correcting proof; his abundant learning and excellent taste being a sufficient guarantee for the trustworthy performance of his work. In the preparation of the volumes of Winthrop Papers for the press, he not only rendered the aid above mentioned, but he made the drawings of a large number of seals, and superintended the printing of them in *fac-simile*.

Dr. Appleton's countenance was striking, and his presence commanding. Personally, he was the most agreeable of men, so simple and modest, so refined and cultivated, so affectionate and eager to serve, that he drew every one toward him. His principles were unswerving, and his character was based upon a rock. His son, to whom I am indebted for some details of his life, writes: "Under his placid exterior he carried one of the most courageous spirits I ever knew, and he was one of the bravest men I ever met with."

The tributes paid to Dr. Appleton, by Dr. Robbins and by the President of the Society, at the meeting following his decease, in language more appropriate than I can frame, beautifully delineate his character and worth, and the valuable services he rendered this Society.

On the 22d May, 1831, Dr. Appleton married, at Boston, Miss Elizabeth M. Messer. He lived in Cambridge for a number of years, and died there on the 4th of February, 1869, aged sixty years and twenty-six days, leaving two sons and four daughters. The oldest son, John W. M. Appleton, served in the war of the Rebellion, and was major in the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment.

Dr. Appleton was elected a member of the Society in January, 1869; but he was never able to attend a meeting after his election. His acceptance of membership bore date only six days before his death.*

* By a rule of the Society, though never formally voted as such, no member receives compensation for services rendered to it. Therefore, Dr. Appleton, though he for many years constantly attended the meetings, was not a member while he held the office of Assistant Librarian.

Dr. Appleton prepared the following papers, which were published in the Proceedings of the Society under the dates given:—

1. On the Great Seal of New England, July, 1862.
2. On the Portrait of King William in the Society's gallery, September, 1862.
3. On Almanacs in the reign of Queen Anne, June, 1863.
4. On an *Amortissement* of Louis, Duke of Orleans, October, 1863.
5. Sketch of the Contents of the "Journal de Castorland," February, 1864.
6. On an Order of the Privy Council, on the Petition of William Morton, March, 1864.
7. On Early Charts of the Harbor of Boston, &c., September, 1864.
8. On the William Winthrop MSS., December, 1864.
9. On the Portrait of Sebastian Cabot in the Society's gallery, January, 1865.
10. On the Alleged Portrait of Rev. John Wilson in the Society's gallery, September, 1867.

He also prepared and printed:—

1. Pedigree of Appleton, on a broadside. Boston, 1864.
2. Monumental Memorials of the Appleton Family. 4to, pp. 30. Boston, privately printed, 1867.

MEMOIR
OF
GOVERNOR CLIFFORD:

BY ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

IN the beautiful town of New Bedford, long since incorporated as a city, there might have been found, some thirty or forty years ago, as charming a group of choice spirits as could be gathered anywhere within the limits of Massachusetts. Among them was Ephraim Peabody, the pastor of the Unitarian parish of the town, afterwards the rector of King's Chapel in Boston; wise, accomplished, amiable, eloquent, beloved by all who knew him. Among them was Charles Henry Warren, widely known afterwards as Judge Warren, whose sparkling wit, and racy anecdote, and keen irony were the delight of every circle in which he moved. Among them was William W. Swain, whose jurisdiction over "Naushon" had won for him the familiar sobriquet of "Governor," and whose great heart and genial hospitality had made willing subjects for him far beyond the narrow domain of the Elizabeth Islands. These and others of that little group have passed away. At least one of them, however, is still living, — the venerable Joseph Grinnell, — born before any of them, and now surviving them all; who, after many years of valuable public service in the Congress of the United States, is to-day, in his eighty-ninth year, conducting successfully and vigorously a great manufacturing establishment, and who, by his firmness and discretion, has just succeeded in putting down a formidable strike of its workmen.

But of this little circle of choice spirits in New Bedford, into which I was so often admitted as a guest on occasional visits from Boston or Washington, the subject of this Memoir was the central figure. Younger than any of his associates; with less accomplishment, perhaps, than one; with less wit, perhaps, than another; with not more of heart or head than a third or fourth of them, — he had yet a combination





Prattbury House
Sept. 11. Clifford

of qualities, intellectual, moral, and social, which gave him an easy lead, and secured for him a ready following. No one, I think, could spend a day in New Bedford, at that period, without feeling that the active, moving spirit of its social and intellectual life was JOHN HENRY CLIFFORD. Thus early — for he was then hardly more than thirty years of age — did he exhibit that practical tact, that genial disposition, that magnetic temper, which always gave him one of the foremost places among those with whom he was associated, whether in public or in private life. Of great executive ability, and with a peculiar faculty of organization, he was at least the prompter and the manager of scenes, in which he may not have assumed or aspired to play the first part. He would, indeed, have counted himself at that time the humblest of that little group; but not the less did his earnest nature impart animation and inspiration to them all.

Governor Clifford, however, — for by that title he will be most readily remembered, — was not a native of New Bedford, nor of Massachusetts. He was born in Providence, Rhode Island, on the 16th of January, 1809, and continued to reside there with his parents until he had completed his school and college education. It was only after he had gone through his four years' course and taken his degree, as Bachelor of Arts, in 1827, at Brown University, that he left his parental home and native State. He then entered on the study of law with Timothy G. Coffin, Esq., of New Bedford, and subsequently studied with the late Judge Theron Metcalf at Dedham, Massachusetts. In 1830 he was admitted to the Bar of the county of Bristol, having in the same year received his degree of Master of Arts at Brown, when he delivered an oration on "the Perils of Professional Life." Thenceforth he was to confront those perils himself, in the daily practice of his chosen profession. He established himself as a lawyer in New Bedford, and two years afterwards gave "a hostage to fortune," and left no further doubt where his permanent home was to be fixed. On the 16th of January, 1832, his twenty-third birthday, he married Sarah Parker Allen, daughter of William Howland Allen, Esq., and granddaughter of the Hon. John Avery Parker, of New Bedford; and from that day to his death he resided nowhere else.

Three years afterward, in 1835, he took his seat in the Legislature of Massachusetts, as a representative from New Bedford. There I met him for the first time; and from that association resulted a friendship and an intimacy which ended only with his life. It was the year of the Revision of the

Statutes of the Commonwealth, and he did good and faithful service on the large committee which had that subject in charge. In 1836 he became one of the aides-de-camp of Governor Everett, and retained that position until, by a single vote out of a hundred thousand votes, Mr. Everett's chief magistracy was brought to a close in 1840.

Before Mr. Everett went out of office, however, — in 1839, — he had conferred upon Colonel Clifford, in whom he had the highest confidence, the appointment of District Attorney for the Southern District of Massachusetts; an office in which he served the Commonwealth assiduously and successfully for nearly ten years.

Meantime, in 1845, the county of Bristol had elected him a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, where he gave renewed evidence of his ability and accomplishments as a debater and a legislator. But his taste for legal practice predominated over all others, and in 1849 he entered upon the duties of an office which was to be the field of his longest and most distinguished public service. In that year he received from Governor Briggs the appointment of Attorney-General of the State.

Early in the following year it fell to his lot to conduct a memorable trial, with which his name will be always most prominently and honorably associated. No trial in the history of our country for many generations, if ever, has excited a deeper interest, or challenged a more anxious and critical attention, than that of Professor John W. Webster for the murder of Dr. George Parkman. Even to this day, the circumstances of the crime and the proceedings to which it gave occasion, as contained in the detailed report prepared and published by our associate member, Mr. George Bemis, the junior counsel for the Commonwealth, have the attraction and fascination of some tragic drama. The responsibility and the labor which it threw upon the Attorney-General were of the most arduous character; and it is enough to say of the manner in which they were met, that when the verdict was obtained, and the full details of evidence and argument were published to the world, he had earned a reputation for ability and force, as well as for discretion and fairness, as a prosecuting officer, which was recognized far beyond the limits of New England.

Few things, if any thing, could have gratified him more than the following passage from an article in "Blackwood's Magazine" for June of that year, on "Modern State Trials," — being one of a series of articles from the pen of the eminent

barrister, Samuel Warren,* the author of the "Diary of a Physician," and of "Ten Thousand a Year":—

"It was our intention to have included in this paper a sketch of a great American trial for murder,—that of the late Professor Webster for the murder of Dr. Parkman; a fearful occurrence; a black and dismal tragedy from beginning to end; exhibiting most remarkable indications, as it appears to us, of the overruling Providence, which sometimes sees fit to allow its agency in human affairs to become visible to us. We have, however, now concluded the present series; but it is not impossible that we may take an early opportunity of giving some account of this extraordinary case, of which, even while we are writing, a report has been courteously transmitted to us from America. All we shall at present say on the subject is, that the reply of Mr. Clifford for the prosecution cannot be excelled in close and conclusive reasoning, conveyed in language equally elegant and forcible. Its effect, as a demonstration of the guilt of the accused, is fearful."

The following letter, dated the day after the sentence had been pronounced, affords a striking view of his own impressions at the result:—

"NEW BEDFORD, April 2, 1850.

"MY DEAR WINTHROP,—The long agony is over, and I am once more by my own hearthstone, trying to restore the equilibrium which two weeks' straining of my entire being had deranged and disturbed. I have never been before, and can never be again, kept up to such an extreme tension; but in looking back, and sternly scrutinizing my whole course from the commencement of my connection with the case to its close, I cannot find any cause of self-reproach. God knows I have compassionated the poor criminal; and my heart has bled for his family almost as if they were my own.

"Personally, I cannot help feeling this trial to have been a great crisis in my life. A failure in it would have been fatal; a moderate degree of success would have been scarcely less unfortunate: and I fervently thank the Good Being who has guided and strengthened and sustained me, for the eminent success which the assurances that I have received from all quarters leave me not at liberty to doubt my having achieved. . . . I am going to New York this week with my wife, and it is not impossible that I may run on and pass a day with you in Washington.

"Yours ever,

"J. H. CLIFFORD."

In the autumn of 1852, the convention of the Whig Party of Massachusetts nominated Attorney-General Clifford for

* The death of Samuel Warren, Q. C., on the 29th of July, is announced from England, while these pages are going through the press.

Governor of the State. He accepted the nomination with reluctance; and, though he received nearly twenty-five thousand more votes than either of the opposing candidates, he was not elected by the people. The plurality system had not yet been adopted, and the Constitution of the State at that time required for an election an absolute majority of all the votes cast by the people. On the meeting of the Legislature, however, he was chosen by the votes of the two branches; and was inaugurated as Governor of Massachusetts on the 14th of January, 1853.

In his Inaugural Address he dwelt strongly on "the tendency to an excess of legislation," and gave evidence of his adherence to the principles of the old Whig Party, of which he had been the candidate, by saying: "It seems to me, therefore, that the wise moderation which avoids both the extremes, — of a blind conservatism which clings to every thing that is established, because it is old, and the reckless and impatient radicalism which is ready to adopt every new project or theory, merely because it is new, — a moderation which consults that vital element in every well-governed community, the adaptation of an established system of laws to the usages and habits of the people, — is one of the safest guides in practical and beneficent legislation." "In all matters of civil government," he added, "the Law is our only sovereign. The loyalty, which in other countries is rendered to the mere accident of birth, is here due to that invisible but omnipresent power which we have voluntarily enthroned and established, for our protection and guidance, under the majestic name of Law."

Governor Clifford discharged the duties of the chief magistracy with great fidelity and dignity, and it was only for him to say whether he should remain in the office for a second year. But his interest in his profession determined him to decline a renomination; and on the election of Governor Emory Washburn, as his successor, he was at once called on by him to resume his place as Attorney-General of the Commonwealth. He continued to hold that office, — by executive appointment for one year, by legislative election for another, and again, for a third, by the choice of the people of the State, — until 1858. He had thus served the Commonwealth as its highest law officer for a full term of seven years in all; and in that capacity had certainly rendered his best public service, and acquired his greatest public distinction.

In retiring finally from this position he did not abandon his professional labors, but was frequently to be found in the

highest courts of the Commonwealth and of the Nation, in the argument of important cases. During the terrible Civil War, which soon afterwards afflicted the country, he omitted no efforts in his power to sustain the cause of the Union according to the convictions of his own conscience. More than once he was summoned to Washington to hold council with Cabinet officers, in regard to measures in contemplation. At home, too, he spared neither time nor money in encouraging the soldiers who went out from his own city or county. In 1862 he accepted an election to the State Senate, and was at once chosen president of that body, in that capacity rendering conspicuous service to the Commonwealth at the most critical period of the War. In 1868 he was one of the electors at large, and united in giving the vote of Massachusetts to President Grant.

In the previous year, however, — 1867, — he had entered upon a line of life which was finally to separate him from further professional or political service, and to confine him to the routine of practical business. Assuming the charge of the Boston and Providence Railroad Corporation, as its president, he devoted himself to its affairs with all his accustomed earnestness and energy. Under his auspices the new and spacious Station of that railroad was erected in Boston, which will always be a monument of his administration; and in which, within a few months of his death, he gave, as we shall presently see, so memorable a manifestation of the spirit in which that administration had been conducted.

Meantime he had not allowed the engrossments of practical business to cut him off wholly from other interests and associations. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was a member of our own Society, and occasionally took part in our proceedings. His tribute to his old commander-in-chief, Edward Everett, was among the most felicitous utterances of our Special Meeting on the occasion of his death. But he rendered larger services to Harvard University at Cambridge, of which he was for many years one of the Overseers, and repeatedly the President of that Board. He had been called on, while Governor, to perform a prominent part at the inauguration of the late Rev. Dr. Walker, as President of the University, on the 24th of May, 1853; and a sufficient testimony to the impressive character of his Address on that occasion may be found in the following sentence of President Walker's reply: "I have listened — we all have listened — to what your Excellency has said, with such just and fervid eloquence, of the dignity

and responsibilities of the teacher; of the need there is that education should be improved and extended in order to meet the advancing wants of the age; and, above all, that the whole should be touched by Christian influences: but this only makes me feel my incompetency the more."

Governor Clifford was called on again, as the head of the Board of Overseers, to officiate at the induction of President Eliot, on the 19th of October, 1869; and from his Address on that occasion the following passages will furnish a good illustration of the earnest spirit in which he spoke:—

"When its venerated founders, the Fathers of New England, inscribed the simple motto 'Veritas' upon the college seal, and when their immediate successors enlarged its legend by the adoption of that which it now bears, 'Christo et Ecclesiæ,' as the watchword and token of its allegiance to the highest truth, they surely never dreamed—may the day never dawn when their descendants shall declare—that there is an 'irrepressible conflict' between the truths of ethical and of physical science. Truth is one:—'vital in every part, it cannot, but by annihilation, die;' and he is but poorly armed in its panoply of proof, who fears that any speculation, study, or research can establish a want of harmony between the revelations of God through the spirit he has breathed into his noblest creation, and those he has imparted through his imprints upon the insensate rocks.

"Idle, too, is the boast, or the dread, that, if such a conflict is to come, its predestined and ignoble issue will be, that the highest and most precious truth man can comprehend, and which ennobles human life and all its acquisitions and accomplishments with their chief dignity and value, shall surrender to the hasty generalizations and unwarranted and unchastened speculations of the presumptuous sciolist, whose 'mind has been subdued to what it works in, like the dyer's hand.' Were such to be the result of what is called the progress of science, as taught within these walls, that He is to be ignored to whose glory they were reared,—of what significance are these idle ceremonials, from which we might as well turn away, 'one to his farm, and another to his merchandise,' contenting ourselves only with the reflection, that, like the beasts that perish, we can 'eat and drink, for to-morrow we die'?"

"In the progress of what is complacently called the 'advanced thought of New England,' and it may be at no distant day, there doubtless will be waged a conflict of opinion of the highest import to the cause of truth and the welfare of the race. Whenever it comes, Harvard College can hold no subordinate place among the institutions of the country, in whose armories must be forged the weapons with which it will be fought. Her friends can have no misgivings as to the position she will occupy on such a field. Her great influence can never be arrayed on the side of those whose arrogant self-conceit can find no higher object of worship than the pretentious intellect of man,—to-day, asserting its own omnipotence; to-morrow, 'babbling of green

fields,' as its possessor sinks beneath the turf that covers them, to mingle with his kindred clod; — of those whose misty speculations shut out the life-giving rays of the 'Star of Bethlehem,' and who, with puny but presumptuous hand, would —

'hang a curtain on the East,
The daylight from the world to keep.'

Governor Clifford was, also, one of the original Board of Trustees of the great Education Fund, established by the munificence of George Peabody, for the impoverished and desolated States of the South; and I can bear witness to the zeal and assiduity with which he attended their meetings, and entered into all their discussions. No one was more faithful to that noble Trust, and no one will be more affectionately and gratefully remembered by all who were associated with him in its labors and responsibilities.

But the health of our lamented friend had more than once during these latter years given warning that he needed relaxation. Indeed, there is the best authority for saying, that nothing but the earnest admonitions of his physician, and his own consciousness of waning strength, had originally induced him to renounce the professional career in which he had won so distinguished a reputation, and to which he was so ardently attached. The efforts and excitements of the court-room had more than once been followed by serious prostration, and he had reluctantly yielded to the necessity of exchanging them for the quieter, though hardly less arduous and responsible, duties of presiding over a great business corporation. But in the spring of 1873 he was compelled to abandon all occupation, and fly to the salubrious airs of Florida. In the spring of 1875, a visit to Europe was recommended to him, and he sailed for Liverpool on the 24th of April of that year. It was his first visit to the Old World, and, though he prudently denied himself to the attentions and hospitalities which were abundantly offered to him in London, he went through the laborious round of sight-seeing, there and everywhere, with all the enthusiasm of his nature. I was in Europe myself at that time, and saw him more than once, and had frequent letters from him along his route. England and Scotland, France, Switzerland, and Northern Italy were traversed in the half-year's absence from home which he allowed himself. His family were with him, and he enjoyed every moment. As he approached the limit which he had assigned to his absence, he was compelled to abandon all thought of Rome and Naples. A letter from him, dated Florence, 1 Sept., 1875, speaks of the struggle it has cost him to give up seeing the

Eternal City; but adds that "he looks towards *home* with infinitely more desire than towards Rome, Pompeii, or even the Holy Land."

"You were quite right," he proceeds, "in your judgment of Switzerland as the true Paradise of the American traveller. There is nothing to be compared with it; and, if I were to be restricted to one view in Europe, it would be that magnificent combination of the grandeur of the Creator's works with the marvellous skill and genius of man, which is exhibited in the audacious conception and wonderful execution of the road built by Napoleon over the Pass of the 'Simplon.' Waldo Emerson once told me if he were to have but one day in Europe, it should be spent in the Square of St. Marc, in Venice. To me, interesting as Venice is, making one feel all the while as if he were in a dream, the great realities of the Alps are a thousand-fold more impressive; and indeed the whole effect of my journeyings amongst those sublime exhibitions of Nature, and the myriad treasures of ancient and modern art which I have had opened to me on every hand, has been to satisfy me that my tastes are better suited to the enjoyment of the works of Him, the great Artist and Architect of the universe, than those of the most gifted of His children, wonderful and beautiful as they are."

In less than six weeks from this date he had embarked at Liverpool, and he reached his native shores safely about the middle of November following. He felt, as he said, like a new man, and resumed his work without the interval of a day. On the 17th of November he presided at the Annual Meeting of the Boston and Providence Railroad Corporation, and made a felicitous address to the assembled stockholders, who had come together under the discouragement of a reduced dividend. Among other things, he spoke of the new Station-house, in which they were assembled, as having been pronounced by a German architect, who, after visiting the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, had come from Philadelphia to Boston expressly for the purpose of inspecting it, "the model railway station of the world." But his remarks were rendered especially memorable by his declaration, that he was not only entirely satisfied that the dividend had been rightly reduced, but that he desired, if any reduction of the pay-roll of the road was to be made, that his own salary should be reduced first, and the wages of the workmen last, or not at all. He struck a true chord, and kindled a responsive note all along the line. Had such an example been followed in other parts of the country, it is not impossible

that some of the deplorable outbreaks of later days might happily have been averted. No wonder that, when his funeral took place a few weeks afterwards, not a few of the flowers heaped upon his coffin were the offerings of the employés of the Road, and that one of them was heard exclaiming, "I would give every dollar I have in the world for the Governor."

Before Governor Clifford embarked for Europe, he had declined appointments as United States Minister both to Russia and to Turkey, which had been successively offered to him by the Administration at Washington. He had, however, previously accepted an appointment as United States Commissioner on the Fisheries under the Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain, — now at last in session at Halifax, — and had always contemplated fulfilling that appointment.

But his work was ended, public and private. Indeed, he had hardly reached his home in New Bedford, after a brief stay in Boston where he arrived, and was but just beginning to receive from his old friends and neighbors the tokens of welcome which had awaited him, when a disease of the heart, which had given mysterious indications in former years, was now unmistakably manifested. A very few weeks sufficed to bring it to a crisis; and on the morning of the 2d of January, 1876, his death was announced.

Happily for him, and for all to whom he was so dear, he was permitted to die in his native land, under his own roof, surrounded by life-long friends and a devoted family. Not without hopes of recovery to the last, he was yet ready for the summons when it came; and no murmur ever escaped his lips at the dispensations of the kind Providence in which he had always lovingly trusted.

Cordial tributes to his career and character were paid by the Legislature of Massachusetts, then in session; by the Bar of the Southern District; by the various associations with which he was connected; by the Overseers of the University; by the railroad corporation over which he had presided; and by the public journals throughout the country. His funeral was attended by a great concourse of his friends and fellow-citizens at New Bedford, on the following Thursday.

Thus truly did he fulfil the idea contained in a letter written by him, just as I was embarking to return from Europe, in September, 1868: "But all our journeyings, whether on one side or both sides of the ocean, are only carrying us all to that home, which at the farthest is not distant from any one of us."

Governor Clifford's life had not been altogether unclouded. In his earlier years he had many sorrows. Any one who shall visit the stately granite Monument which has just been placed over his remains in the New Bedford cemetery, will observe at its side the humbler stones which tell of the death of four children, — two daughters and two sons, — all cut off at a very early age. On the stones which mark the graves of the little boys, are inscribed, "Edward Everett Clifford," and "Robert Winthrop Clifford."

I should hardly be pardoned, were I to omit from this cursory record of his life an extract from his touching letter of 29 August, 1843, informing me of the death of this latter child: —

"MY DEAR FRIEND, — Your heart I know will bleed for me when I announce to you that your sweet little namesake has left us for a better world. We have added another to the angel throng; and although that world is as real to me as the earth upon which I tread, and the blessed existence of my precious flock is as certain as my own, it has been an inexpressibly bitter trial to part with my only boy. I had indulged in high hopes for him, and he gave all the promise that infancy could give that his future career would justify them all. He was the sweetest tempered, the most equable and placid, of all my children; and in his beautiful expression of countenance and his finely-formed head we could not but discover the germ of a rich maturity. With his name, too, I need not say, were associations which increased and strengthened the interest and hopes with which I looked forward to his future years. It has not infrequently occurred to me that, if I should be called away from him before his education for this life's duties had been completed, your interest in him would have given him the advantage of your counsel and direction; and that, for his father's sake and his own, you would have so watched his progress as that he should bear that name through the trials and temptations of youth with honor. But, alas, for my desolate hearthstone, — not alas for *him*, — he has exchanged our guidance for His who will 'lead him by the still waters' of Paradise, and 'make him to lie down in its green pastures' by the side of those dear ones who have already welcomed him to their eternal home."

These early sorrows, however, were abundantly compensated by the blessings of his later life; and, at his death, he left three sons, — all of them graduates of Harvard, — and two daughters, to comfort their mother, and to do honor to his own memory.

I can close this brief Memoir with nothing more appropriate than the following passage from the tribute paid to Governor Clifford by a distinguished statesman of Virginia (the Hon.

Alexander H. H. Stuart), when his death was announced at the Annual Meeting of the Peabody Trustees, at the White Sulphur Springs, in Virginia, last August:—

“It requires no effort of memory, on our part, to recall his manly figure and noble face. They are indelibly imprinted on our minds and hearts. Nature had so moulded his form and features as to give the world assurance of his admirable character. There was a quiet dignity and grace in every movement, and his countenance beamed with intelligence and benignity. To a mind of great power he united a heart which throbbed with generous impulses, and a happy facility of expression which gave a peculiar charm to his conversation. There was a frankness in his bearing and a genial urbanity about him, which at once commended confidence and inspired good-will. Every one who approached him felt attracted by a species of personal magnetism, which was irresistible.

“When last autumn, in New York, I was urging that the present session of our Board should be held here, in the mountains of Virginia, one of the great pleasures which I anticipated was the opportunity which it would present of introducing Governor Clifford to my Virginia friends. I felt sure that they would share my favorable regard for him, and thus a new link of fraternity would be added to the chain of memories which unite Massachusetts and Virginia. But it has pleased an All-wise Providence to ordain that it should be otherwise; and all that I can now do is, on behalf of the people of Virginia and of the South, to tender to Massachusetts the assurance of their profound sympathy in the loss which she has sustained in the untimely death of her distinguished son!”

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1877.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the preceding meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian's list of donors was read.

The Cabinet-keeper reported that the model of the Brattle Street Meeting-house had been received, agreeably to a communication of the Rev. Dr. Lothrop, made to the Society at the April meeting, and that it had been deposited in one of the upper rooms of the Society's building.

Mr. BROOKS, from the Nominating Committee, reported the name of the Hon. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM to fill the vacancy in the Council, occasioned by the resignation of Mr. PARKMAN; and the recommendation was adopted by a unanimous vote.

J. Elliot Cabot, Esq., of Brookline, and George Dexter, Esq., of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members.

M. Gustave Vapereau, of Paris, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. WINSOR, who had but recently returned from the Library Conference in London, in response to a call from the President, related some incidents of his visit; he spoke of some well-known persons whom he met, and of a visit he made to the Library of the Bishop of London at Fulham, where he saw the original manuscript of Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, printed by this Society in 1856, which he hoped might yet be restored to this country. He alluded, particularly, to an effort which he had made for this purpose, through the late Mr. Lothrop Motley, while he was the American Minister to Great Britain.

The President then said:—

The interesting remarks of Mr. Winsor recall to me the consultations which I held, many years ago, — long before Mr. Motley was our Minister at London, — with Archdeacon Sinclair, with Sir Henry Holland, and with the Earl of St. Germans, in regard to the old Bradford manuscript volume in the Fulham Library, and which resulted in the conviction that nothing less than an Act of Parliament would be considered as authorizing its transfer to America.

The venerable Archdeacon died in 1875, and Sir Henry somewhat earlier. The death of Lord St. Germans has just been announced, and I cannot mention his name without referring briefly to our obligations to him as a Society. He was not one of our members, either Corresponding or Honorary; but we were primarily indebted to his kindness, some years ago, for a most interesting communication. He was a lineal descendant of the noble-hearted Sir John Eliot, who died in the Tower of London, as a martyr to free speech in Parliament, in 1633, and from his family papers were obtained the invaluable materials for the Life of that great English statesman and patriot by the late John Forster. In that Biography, a brief reference was made to a correspondence between Sir John Eliot and the famous John Hampden on the subject of emigrating to New England. By the favor of Lord St. Germans, in answer to an application of my own, the correspondence thus referred to was examined, and it proved, as I felt sure it would prove, that the "Conclusions or Reasons for planting New England," which were prepared by Governor Winthrop before he left England, had been communicated to Eliot while in the Tower, and had been the subject of consultation between him and John Hampden. We had often heard before that the English patriots of the Commonwealth period were, many of them, in intimate association and correspondence with our Puritan leaders. But such authentic evidence that two of the foremost of them all, — whose lives, had they been spared, would have influenced the course of events in England so prominently and pre-eminently, — were in immediate consultation with the founders of the Massachusetts Colony, had never before been produced.

It was well said by John Forster, in his note to me communicating the papers: "The questions raised by this curious discovery are, indeed, full of striking interest." . . . "I am not without hope of what a closer examination of the papers may bring. Were the matter to end here, however, resting where it does, there is a new and striking interest contributed to a transaction which, more largely than any other in history, has affected the destinies of the human race." These papers may be found in our Proceedings of July, 1865.

I am not aware that either Lord St. Germans or Mr. Forster himself ever found time for that "closer examination of the papers." Something may still be hoped for, now that the papers have passed into the possession of a younger genera-

tion. Meantime, I am glad of an opportunity of reminding the Society of their indebtedness to Lord St. Germans, and of expressing the high respect and affectionate regard I had for him. He was one of my oldest and most valued English friends, and one with whom I had exchanged occasional letters for a full term of thirty years. This friendly correspondence gave me an opportunity, more than once, during the progress of our late Civil War, to make informal explanations and suggestions, which were sure of being turned to the best account for the cause of the Union. Lord St. Germans was, during a part of that time, associated with the British Ministry as Lord High Steward of her Majesty's household. He had been, moreover, one of the little party which accompanied the Prince of Wales to America, and remembered with gratitude the attentions he had received here. He had been Postmaster-general in Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet, and afterwards Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. But his most memorable service, while he was known as Lord Eliot, was in 1835, when as Ambassador to Spain, during her civil wars, at great risk of his own safety and life, he succeeded in negotiating and enforcing a Convention—known as "the Eliot Convention"—for the merciful treatment and exchange of prisoners. Within the last ten years, he has published a monograph of that embassy, parts of which have an almost romantic interest, and which secures for him the enviable credit of having saved scores of lives by his persevering and chivalric intervention.

A hardly less interesting incident of his early life is found in Gleig's *Life of the Duke of Wellington*, where Lord St. Leonards describes the escape of the Duke from a mob, in the days of the Reform Bill (1832), from which Lord Eliot and Lord Granville Somerset protected him on one side and the other.

Lord St. Germans married a grand-daughter of the first Marquis Cornwallis,—better known to our Revolutionary history as Earl Cornwallis,—and I remember his showing me, at his own house, the sword which Cornwallis captured from Tippoo Saib; and, adding pleasantly, that his Yorktown sword was not in his possession.

He was a fine old English gentleman, dignified and stately, full of kindness and courtesy; bearing a long illness with Christian resignation, and dying, in his eightieth year, with the respect and warm regard of all who knew him, from the Queen and the Princes downward.

Dr. OLIVER presented a copy of a tract of John Cotton, published in London, in 1647, intitled "Severall Questions of serious and necessary Consequence, Propounded by the Teaching Elders, unto Mr. Iohn Cotton of Boston in *New England*. With his respective Answer to each Question." The printed tract contained but ten pages. Bound in at the end are one hundred and six pages of manuscript, in John Cotton's beautiful hand, being "The Elders Reply," "Mr. Cottons Rejoynder," and "Mr. Cottons Revisall,"—the whole number of pages being one hundred and sixteen. This tract was originally published in 1644, and contained a preface of two pages, which is wanting in the second edition; but which is mostly supplied in this copy by Mr. Cotton in manuscript, with this note underneath: "The printed part I corrected by y^e MSS. original."

Colonel T. W. HIGGINSON, a Corresponding Member, now read a paper made up from the Diary of the Hon. William Ellery, of Rhode Island, graphically describing a ride on horseback to and from the Continental Congress in Pennsylvania, of which he was a member.*

The thanks of the Society were voted to Colonel Higginson for his interesting paper.

Mr. George H. Moore applied for leave to examine and copy from Cotton Mather's Diary, and leave was granted under the rules.

Mr. TUTTLE called attention to the different ways of spelling the surname of Sir Walter Raleigh, which, he said, continued to be spelled in this country and in England two ways, while Raleigh himself never spelled it in the way now most current with popular writers. The difference is slight, but is conspicuous in a surname as short as this is. The variation is the addition of a single letter, a vowel, in the second or final syllable, making the name "Raleigh," instead of "Ralegh," as he wrote it.

His principal biographers are about equally divided on this point, some using the former and some the latter spelling of the name, seemingly indifferent whether Raleigh wrote it one way or the other. It is said that the autographs of Raleigh in the State Paper Office in London, and elsewhere, show no variation, and that the second vowel never appears in the last syllable.

He thought it must be admitted that the additional letter

* This paper had been prepared for "Scribner's Magazine." — Eds.

improved the appearance of the name without affecting the pronunciation. But should this be regarded sufficient reason for changing the spelling of a name, especially one so illustrious in the annals of England?

Shakespeare's surname is spelled variously, because it is claimed that he spelled it variously himself. It is a long name, and he may not always have been attentive to some of the silent letters in writing it. There is greater chance of mistake in reading correctly his few autographs extant, than there is of his writing them with variations. A poet, however, may do many things without censure, which a philosopher, a statesman, or a soldier cannot do.

He did not believe that literary persons in that age were in the habit of daily or less frequently writing their own names with a various orthography, more than he believed it was practised in the current age. Among educated men and women there is an extreme sensitiveness on this point that does not allow any departure from the fixed spelling of their names, whatever that may be. No one is content to see his name in print spelled otherwise than he writes it.

He had recently had occasion to make some inquiries at Oriel College, Oxford, concerning the young Champernowne who was there with Raleigh. The Provost of that college, the Rev. Dr. Hawkins, while kindly answering inquiries, had incidentally supplied a few interesting memoranda concerning Raleigh.

On the official records of that college, his name is spelled "Rawley," altogether different from the current spelling, while it is the exact phonetic spelling of the name. He had no information whether this was from his autograph or from the writing of some official hand.

Champernowne was at Oriel College as early as February, 1565,—how long after did not appear. Anthony Wood says that Raleigh went there about the year 1568, remained there about three years, and that his kinsman Champernowne studied there at the same time. It is certain that Raleigh went to the civil wars in France in 1569, being one of that distinguished company of gentlemen volunteers that went from England, commanded by his cousin, Henry Champernowne. It is quite as certain that he never returned to the seat of the Muses. For Raleigh's college career, his biographers rely wholly on Anthony Wood; and they all have had serious difficulty with his statements of the time he went to college, and the period he remained there. Having the date that Champernowne was there, it is now easy to see that all

may be reconciled by substituting the year 1565 for the year 1568, the date given by Wood. This allows Raleigh three years' residence at college before going to France.

Mr. DEANE said that he believed Raleigh himself *usually* spelled his name "Ralegh," and that his son Carew Raleigh introduced the method of spelling it which now almost universally prevails; viz., "Raleigh," adding the *i* to the last syllable. Cayley, his biographer, says he has seen the name spelled in thirteen different ways; and, in the title-page to Hakluyt's "Westerne Planting" (Maine Historical Society, Second Series, Vol. II.), the spelling differs from either of those which he has given,—viz. "Raghly."

Mr. PARTON, a Corresponding Member, who was present, said that Raleigh himself spelled his name "Rauley," before coming to London, after which he spelled it "Raleigh."*

A general conversation ensued, during which the opinion was expressed that the same latitude which existed in spelling, at the period referred to, would be found to include family names as well as other words of which the language is composed.

* We find, on consulting Edwards's *Life of Raleigh*, that the signatures to his letters there given, before 1584, are spelled "Rauley," and from that date onward "Ralegh." Hakluyt, in his folio of 1589, usually spells the name "Ralegh," but he occasionally adds the *i* to the final syllable. In a tract published in 1618, the year of Raleigh's death, the title-page reads "Newes of Sr Walter Rauleigh," &c. The running-title also so reads, and this spelling prevails throughout the book. While in another tract published the same year, entitled "A Declaration of the Demeanor and Carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight," &c., the name throughout the book is spelled as indicated in this citation from the title. In 1702, "Three Discourses of Sir Walter Raleigh" were published, from papers furnished by "Phillip Raleigh, Esq., his only grandson," in which the name is spelled as here quoted. About the same time there appeared an abridgment of Raleigh's *History of the World*, published by this same grandson, in which his own name is spelled "Raleigh." — Eds.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1877.

A stated meeting was held this day, Thursday, December 13th, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the preceding meeting, which were approved.

The Librarian read his list of donors to the Library for the past month.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance from J. Elliot Cabot, Esq., of Brookline, and George Dexter, Esq., of Cambridge, who had been elected Resident Members at the November meeting.

He also read the following letter from the Rev. William H. Beecher, of Chicago:—

CHICAGO, Dec. 5, 1877.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

SIR,—Some years since my wife sent you several letters written by Phillis Wheatley, at your request. My wife is now dead, and I shall soon follow, being near my seventy-sixth birthday (January 15, 1878). My children have no interest in these letters; and, thinking your Society would like the originals, rather than copies, I enclose them to you for the Society.* . . .

Respectfully,

WILLIAM H. BEECHER.

The thanks of the Society were ordered for this acceptable gift.

Captain Gustavus Vasa Fox, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. DEANE read the following letter from a former Corresponding Member, Theodore Dwight, Esq., of New York, written more than thirty years ago, relating to the well-known Journal of "our townswoman," Madam Knight:—

NEW YORK, Dec. 26, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—The work to which you refer is well known to me. It is genuine and authentic. I had heard of the manuscript for

* Letters of Phillis Wheatley, to the number of seven, were printed by the Society in the Proceedings for November, 1863. Those now presented by Mr. Beecher were four of the originals previously lent by Mrs. Beecher for that purpose. The wax on the letters bears the impression of an engraved seal, with the initials "P. W." A heliotype *fac-simile* of one of the letters, that of March 21, 1774, in which Phillis touchingly describes the death of her mistress, Mrs. Susanna Wheatley, who had died on the 3d of that month, is given at this place.—Eds.

her part in irreparable ruptures, earnest longings & impatient
thirstings for the upper house of the Lord. Do, my dear friend, warm
her in this family in your belief that this afflictive dispensation—
maybe sanctified to us. I am very sorry to hear that you are indisposed
but hope this will find you in better health. I have been unwell the
greater part of the winter, but am much better as the spring approaches.
I regretted my not writing to you so long before, for I have been so busi-
de lately, that I could not find leisure. I shall send the 5 books you
wrote for the first concern out, opportunity, if you want more, they
shall be ready for you I am very affectionately your friend
Boston March 21. 1775.
No. 111. 1775

Dear Oliver,

I rec^d your obliging letter, and so, in your new Quaker's & Quaker's
one by his son. I have lately met with a great trial in the death of my
mother, let us imagine the loss of a parent, sister or Brother the tender
help of all their own united, in her, — I was a poor little outcast &
a stranger when she took me in, not only into her home but into
her family, and her in her most tender affection, I was treated by her
more like her child than her friend, no opportunity was left un-
used, of giving me the best of a guide, but in terms how tender, how
engaging! 'thou shalt ever be thyself in remembrance, 'thou shalt
be thyself a greater comfort than all thy precepts and instructions',
thus we may observe of how much greater force was my father's than
instruction. To illustrate our story we had the satisfaction to see
her spirit in inexpressible raptures, earnest longings & impatient

several years, from a lady acquainted with the family in which it had been preserved; and succeeded in procuring it for publication. I copied it with my own hand, retaining the orthography, and omitting only a few words and phrases, which were not very appropriate to a book.

A Boston paper, on the appearance of the work, pronounced it a spurious production, partly on the ground that it spoke of "stages" about half a century before the first stage was known in the country; while in fact that word was used only in its proper English sense, and had no allusion to carriages, to express a species of which it is so extensively *misapplied* in this country.

A large part of the Journal was copied into "Blackwood's Magazine," and most of the introduction was adopted by the editors as their own, without acknowledgment.

The Journal of the Rev. Mr. Buckingham is equally authentic; but not more than one tenth or one twentieth part of it was published, as the remainder is in stenography, and has not been deciphered.

The time is now approaching, perhaps, when such works may receive more public favor. The indifference with which that little book was regarded discouraged me from bringing out any more, though I had two or three old manuscripts which I should have liked to bring out at some future time. It gratifies me to find that you and your friends in Boston feel any interest in the Journal of your townswoman, Madam Knight, as I think it highly creditable to her character and education, and valuable for the picture it gives of the state of the country and people at that early period.

Unfortunately, I have but two or three leaves of Madam Knight's original manuscript remaining; for, after preserving it some years as a precious piece of antiquity, an Irish servant, one unlucky morning, used the greater part of it to kindle the fire.

Painful it is to add that a large correspondence, handed down from the same period, and embracing a number of letters of the same Madam Knight and her friends, was committed to the flames a few years ago in New London. Traces of them were found (as I was informed three or four years since), in consequence of investigations made in New Haven to test the accuracy of some of the statements in the Journal. Madam Knight mentions the settlement of an estate, to which she attended, in the latter place; and the records bear complete evidence of it to this day. Her signature is there under the date specified.

I have been earnestly solicited of late to prepare and publish another edition, with notes, embracing the above and other particulars, and have taken some steps; but, apprehending a second failure, I have not pursued the plan.

Please to present my kind remembrance to Mr. Isaac P Davis when you meet him, and believe me, dear sir,

Yours respectfully,

THEODORE DWIGHT.

CHARLES DEANE, Esq.

Mr. DEANE said that it would be seen that the letter of Mr. Dwight originated in an inquiry as to the genuineness of *Madam Knight's Journal*, there having existed a serious suspicion since its publication in 1825,* up to that time, that it was a fiction. Mr. Felt, in his "Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency," published in 1839, quotes a passage from this *Journal* to show how payments were made in dealings between merchants and their customers at that period, and the currency then in use; but, in the Appendix to his book (p. 250), he is careful to say that, "though the female traveller, *Madam Knight*, is a fictitious author, yet the representation quoted from the book bearing such a name appears to be true." Indeed, it was confidently believed by many that *Madam Knight's Journal* proceeded from the fertile fancy of the late Samuel L. Knapp, who had the reputation of writing some clever fictions of a like character.

The inquiry of Mr. Dwight was made on the suggestion of our associate, the late Isaac P. Davis, who seems to have been aware that he had been connected with the original publication of the *Journal* in 1825. Mr. Dwight's prompt reply put to rest all doubts as to the genuineness of this quaint production, and some extracts from his letter were published in the "Boston Evening Transcript," of January 6, 1847,—that is, a few days after it was received.

Madam Knight's Journal was reprinted entire in the "Living Age," for June, 1858, with an introduction by the late Mr. William Reed Deane, containing much information relative to the author and her family; and a sumptuous edition of it was printed in Albany, at the press of Mr. Munsell, in 1865,†—the editor drawing largely upon the historical and biographical material published in the "Living Age."

Mr. DEANE also communicated, as a gift from Mrs. Jared Sparks, of Cambridge, some extracts from the *Journal* of Charles J. Stratford,‡ of Boston, copied by her from the origi-

* The general title-page to the volume containing *Madam Knight's Journal* covered two distinct works,—"The Journals of *Madam Knight* and Rev. Mr. Buckingham. From the original manuscripts, written in 1704 and 1710. New York: Wilder & Campbell, 1825." (pp. 129.) The special title to the former is as follows: "The Private Journal kept by *Madam Knight*, on a journey from Boston to New York, in the year 1704. From the original manuscript." (pp. 70.)

† The Private Journal of a Journey from Boston to New York, in the year 1704; kept by *Madam Knight*. Albany: Frank H. Little. 1865. pp. 92.

‡ Mr. Charles J. Stratford, the author of the journal from which these extracts are taken, was born in Boston, 13th August, 1795. His father was Samuel Stratford, an Englishman, and his mother was Lucy Wallcut, sister of Mr. Thomas Wallcut, one of the founders of this Society, and its first Recording Secretary. Mr. Stratford is now living in Brooklyn, N. Y.

inal manuscript in the hands of Mr. Barron, of the Crawford House, White Mountains. Some of these extracts are here given:—

"My grandfather owned fourteen slaves,—thirteen men, all mechanics, and one female, Dinah. He was anchor-master to King George III. on the West India station, where he died. In settling the estate, grandmother gave them all their freedom. They all accepted it, except Dinah. She preferred to stay at so good a home the remainder of her life. . . .

"Grandmother Walcott, in addition to a subscription of £200, took seven natives to teach.* . . .

"In or about the year 1761, a slave-ship arrived in Boston harbor, with a cargo of slaves. Aunt Wheatley was in want of a domestic. She went on board to purchase. In looking through the ship's company of living freight, her attention was drawn to that of a slender, frail, female child, which at once enlisted her sympathies. Owing to the frailty of the child, she procured her for a trifle, as the captain had fears of her dropping off his hands, without emolument, by death.† . . .

* Mrs. Wallcut, after the death of her husband, Benjamin Wallcut (who died, according to the record in the family Bible, in North Carolina, and not on "the West India station," as stated above), resided for some time at Hanover, N. H., her son Thomas being connected with Dr. Wheelock's school at that place. The "subscription," it is thought, must relate to sums collected for this school, or the College. It is believed that the Indian lads were taught during Mrs. Wallcut's residence at Hanover. She subsequently taught school in Boston. Her name appears in the Boston Directory for 1789: "Wallcut, widow, school mistress, Purchase Street." — Eds.

† This unpromising specimen afterward became the well-known Phillis Wheatley, of whom some account may be found in the Proceedings of this Society for November, 1863. She was brought to Boston in a slave-ship from the coast of Africa in 1761, being then, according to the conjecture of Mr. John Wheatley who purchased her, "between seven and eight years of age." She probably belonged to a lot of "small negroes," offered for sale that year, described in the following advertisement in the Boston "Evening Post" of August 3d, and for a number of weeks following:—

"TO BE SOLD,

A Parcel of Likely Negroes, imported from Africa, cheap for Cash, or short Credit; Enquire of John Avery, at his House next Door to the White-Horse, or at a Store adjoining to said Avery's Distill-House, at the South End, near the South Market: Also if any Persons have any Negro Men, strong and hearty, tho' not of the best moral character, which are proper Subjects for Transportation, may have an Exchange for small Negroes."

The writer of this journal speaks of Mrs. Wheatley, the mistress of Phillis, as his "aunt." She was probably twice removed from this relationship: but the Rev. Robert Folger Wallcut, of this city, a graduate of Harvard College in 1817 (a nephew of Mr. Thomas Wallcut, one of the founders of this Society), who sustains the same relationship to Mrs. Wheatley, informs us that it was customary in the family to speak of Mrs. Wheatley as "Aunt Wheatley." He says that her maiden name was probably Susanna Marshall: that she was the aunt of his grandmother, Elizabeth (Marshall) Wallcut, referred to in the journal as having liberated the slaves, and of her two maiden sisters, Mary and Anna, and brothers Christopher and Colonel (Thomas) Marshall, also mentioned there; and yet of two other sisters,—Dorcas Marshall, who married William

"The tan placed in the Old South Church was obtained at my great-uncle Christopher Marshall's (grandmother's brother) tan-yard, in the rear of the church, in Water Street; carting the tan up Spring Lane. I entered my apprenticeship to the tailoring business in 1811, sixteen years of age, at the corner of Spring Lane and Water Street, thirty-five years after, a little above the tan-yard. Being sent to uncle's on an errand when quite young, I have a faint recollection of seeing, in the large back-grounds, deep holes and something red, but could not comprehend what it meant; but see now that it was vat and tan.

"In connection with the above, I recollect while an apprentice of hearing it stated in the shop that, in digging for a sewer at the corner of Water Street, they came down upon the hull of a lighter, with about a foot thick of good hemlock bark in her hole, supposed to have bilged and sunk. I have heard that quite a large creek made up as far as Congress Street, of sufficient depth at high tide to admit of small craft. . . .

"At the time of the meeting of the citizens of Boston in Faneuil Hall, Grandmother Walcott sent mother — then thirteen years old — to the hall, to creep up stairs, and go lightly along the gallery, and overhear their deliberations and resolutions; and mother told this to me on a time. I remember the name of Clark as moderator, and she imitated his peculiar squeaking voice. (1775.) . . .

"A society of ladies styled the 'Daughters of Liberty' made rifle-men's frocks, spatter-dashes for the cavalry, shirts and gaiters for the infantry, free of cost to the government. . . .

"General Washington entered Boston after Lord Howe evacuated it. Grandmother sent her niece, Miss Dorcas Kerr, to the Province House, Washington's head-quarters, with her compliments, desiring to

Kerr, and who were the parents of the Miss Dorcas Kerr spoken of in the journal; and Amy Marshall, who married James Ray, and whose several children were Deborah, Elizabeth, Nancy, and Mary Ray.

It will not be regarded as out of place here to mention a few particulars respecting the author of the Memoir of Phillis Wheatley, referred to in the Proceedings of the Society for November, 1863, and certain persons mentioned in it, — which have been chiefly furnished by the Rev. Mr. Wallcut. The author, Miss Margaretta Matilda Odell, was the daughter of Captain James Odell and Margaret (Marshall) Odell; the latter, a daughter of Christopher Marshall above mentioned. The grand-nieces of Mrs. Wheatley, of whom she says she derived the particulars relating to the subject of her Memoir, were probably her mother and her mother's cousins, including Mrs. Stratford and the Misses Ray; and the grand-daughter who corroborated their statements was probably a daughter of the Rev. John Lothrop, D.D., and Mary (Wheatley) Lothrop. The widow lady, mentioned in the Memoir as having sheltered Phillis and her children, on their return to Boston after the evacuation, was Mrs. Elizabeth (Marshall) Wallcut, mentioned above. She was the grandmother of the Rev. Robert Folger Wallcut above referred to, as well as of Mr. Stratford, the author of the journal from which we have quoted.

It may be added that the following title, namely, a "Memoir of Phillis Wheatley, a native African and a Slave, by B. B. Thatcher, Boston, published by George W. Light, 1834," 36 pp., 16mo, describes a copy of a volume now lying before us. It was written for children, and is substantially an abridgment of Miss Odell's Memoir. — Eds.

know where he intended to worship on that day, Sunday. Placing his strong hand on the crown of her head (she being a child), [he] replied, 'At the Brattle Street Church, my dear.' And this cousin told me thirty years after, that, every time she adverted to the circumstance, she fancied she could feel the firm grasp of his fingers.* . . .

"Owing to the precipitate manner in which Lord Howe left Boston, hundreds of British soldiers dodged into lanes and alleys, hid away in hay-lofts and out-houses, intending to be left behind. In the *mêlée*, they left behind most of their effects. Grandmother's two maiden sisters owned † the Indian Queen Tavern at that time, just above the Province House, Cornhill (now Washington Street), a few doors south of the Old South Church. Lord Howe quartered his staff at this tavern, and stabled his and their horses at the same place, *paying no rent* to my aunts for it. Aunt Mary and Anna Marshall applied to General Washington in person, at the Province House (now Washington's head-quarters), stating that the British had occupied their premises since Lord Howe shut up Boston, *rent free*; and had left all their horses and their equipage behind. 'What can you do for us, General?' 'Tell your brother, Colonel Marshall, to sell off all, and pay over to you forthwith,' was the answer. . . .

"Meeting Uncle Thomas Walcott one day on the Common, and while standing on the elevation of land just beyond the 'great tree,' looking across the back bay towards Cambridge, talking over Revolutionary events, how Washington rode from the Cambridge army to Dorchester Heights several times in one night, and completed those breastworks that remain to this day, — which works I helped repair in 1813, — among other things he related to me was this: looking down on the low lands before us bordering on Charles Street, [he] said that, when Washington's army was at Cambridge, the hospital was on the Boston side, that he was detailed as one of the officials of the hospital, and had superintended the burial of the dead from the hospital in those low grounds on the Common abreast of Charles Street.‡

* Where the writer speaks of "Lord Howe," he means, of course, "General Howe." There is no intrinsic improbability in Washington's having taken the Province House for his quarters, whenever he had occasion to visit Boston after the evacuation, — if he had any need of such quarters in the city. It had been the head-quarters of General Gage, and subsequently of General Howe. But Washington's "Head-quarters" were still in Cambridge, as will be seen by a number of letters which he wrote thence after the evacuation, and until he left for New York on the 4th of April following. It is not at all probable that Washington ever worshipped at the Brattle Street meeting-house at this time. It is believed that this house was not opened for public worship till May following. It had been used by the British as a barracks and for the stabling of horses. Washington entered Boston on Monday, the day after the evacuation, and two Sundays intervened before he left for New York. The Rev. Andrew Eliot preached the Thursday Lecture before General Washington on the 28th of March, in the Old Brick. — Eds.

† More probably, "occupied." — Eds.

‡ The writer can hardly mean that the hospital on the Boston side was used, during the siege, for the sick of Washington's army. Mr. Thomas Walcut was, during the war, steward and ward-master of the hospital at "Barton's Point." — Eds.

"At another time, while we were walking down Federal Street, Uncle Thomas Walcott stopped directly in front of the old Boston Theatre, corner of Franklin Street, opposite Dr. Channing's church, and says, 'There, Charles, you see the mouth of that common sewer? Well, formerly, when I was a boy, I used to catch smelts [there]. There was the head of the creek that made up from tide waters: its mouth was at Liberty Square.'

"At Milk Street, we walked down to the square; and, arriving at the Liberty pole, he says, 'I want to tell you about this pole: exactly at this spot stood the famous British Stamp-Office, which, with the duty of twopence per pound on tea, was among the obnoxious things of those days. Here,' said he, 'was the head of the wharf, and the front rested on the top log, and stood over the dock supported on two posts. As matters grew warmer, a party of Whigs rowed up in a boat underneath, at night, sawed off the posts, and at ebb-tide pushed it overboard, and attaching a rope lowered it toward the channel, sent it down stream; it went out to sea, and was never heard of after. When the war ended, we raised a liberty pole on the exact spot, and it has been renewed ever since, and I hope it will be to the latest posterity.' . . .

"King's Chapel. At the termination of the war in 1783,* very many pious and patriotic persons, who had left the town in consequence of Lord Howe's taking possession of it, . . . came back; of whom numbers were Congregationalists, and were members of the Old South Church. That having been stripped of its pews by Howe's orders, and converted into a riding-school, the question arose, 'Where shall we worship? The British have destroyed our pews, and mutilated our house!' A shrewd man among them answered: 'The Tories have all gone to England: let's go and take possession of King's Chapel;' which proposition was conceded to, and they worshipped in it till they could refit the Old South.

"A part of the congregation remained in it, in order, as I suppose, to keep out the Episcopalians, whom they hated; and the remainder went over to the Old South. In process of time, they of King's Chapel became, through the teachings of Dr. Freeman, Unitarian.

"For some reason or other, they adopted the prayer-book which they found in the chapel, omitting the prayers for the King and Queen, Royal Family, Prince Regent, Parliament, and the Gunpowder Plot; but, after they embraced Unitarianism, they revised and reprinted a new edition of the prayer-book, striking out the doctrines of the Trinity!"

"1799. Washington's obsequies. His funeral was solemnized in Boston, Mass., with great and imposing ceremonies,—firing minute guns, tolling of bells, oration, procession, and universal grief. My father set me astride his shoulders, I was so young and small, and he so tall (over six feet), and holding on to my feet while the procession passed. How vividly do I remember the arch of about twelve feet span, carried by two horsemen, each base of the arch resting on the pommel of the

* The writer should have said, "At the termination of the *siege*, in 1776."—Eds.

saddle; and inscribed, as I have since learned in history, 'First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.' Next, in my memory, was the hearse and span of black horses, with black plumes waving, and on the coffin two swords crossed, a three-cornered military hat just behind them. Then came the noble war-horse, attended by a stout colored man in livery, attired in military equipage. Then came a small platform carriage, with a Grecian urn, which I have since learned was used to deposit the heart of a renowned warrior in; and the sections of men and horsemen, two deep, reached from gutter to gutter. It was so cold, nearly everybody took cold; and it was then denominated 'the Washington cold.'

Mr. DEANE laid before the Society the following list of authors of the various biographies of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, published by John Sanderson, in Philadelphia, in 1823-27. The list first appeared in the "New York Times," after the appearance of the concluding volume of the series, and was copied into the "Daily Cincinnati Gazette," of the 11th of August, 1827, from which paper this list is taken, —

Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. — To those possessing this interesting and valuable work, it must be desirable to know who were the authors of the various biographies of which it consists. We have taken pains to ascertain, and are enabled to give them.

[The left-hand column contains the names of the signers; the right, the name of each biographer.]

Signers.	Biographers.	Signers.	Biographers.
John Hancock.	J. Adams.	James Smith.	E. Ingersoll.
Samuel Adams.	H. D. Gilpin.	George Taylor.	H. D. Gilpin.
John Adams.	E. Ingersoll.	James Wilson.	R. Wain, Jr.
Robert T. Paine.	Alden Bradford.	George Ross.	H. D. Gilpin.
Elbridge Gerry.	H. D. Gilpin.	Cæsar Rodney.	H. D. Gilpin.
Josiah Bartlett.	R. Wain, Jr.	George Read.	Read of Del.
William Whipple.	R. Wain, Jr.	Thomas M'Kean.	R. Wain, Jr.
Matthew Thornton.	R. Wain, Jr.	Samuel Chase.	E. Ingersoll.
Stephen Hopkins.	R. Wain, Jr.	William Paca.	E. Ingersoll.
William Ellery.	H. D. Gilpin.	Thomas Stone.	E. Ingersoll.
Roger Sherman.	Edward Everett.	Charles Carroll.	H. B. Latrobe.
Samuel Huntington.	R. Wain, Jr.	George Wythe.	Tho's Jefferson.
William Williams.	R. Wain, Jr.	Richard H. Lee.	R. H. Lee.
Oliver Wolcott.	O. Wolcott.	Thos. Jefferson.	H. D. Gilpin.
William Floyd.	Augustus Floyd.	Benj. Harrison.	H. D. Gilpin.
Philip Livingston.	DeWitt Clinton.	Thos. Nelson, Jr.	H. D. Gilpin.
Francis Lewis.	M. Lewis.	Francis L. Lee.	R. Wain, Jr.
Lewis Morris.	E. Ingersoll.	Carter Braxton.	Judge Brackenborough.
Rich'd Stockton.	H. Stockton.	William Hooper.	J. C. Hooper.
John Witherspoon.	Ashbel Green.	Joseph Hewes.	E. Ingersoll. [Jina.
Fra's Hopkinson.	R. Penn Smith.	John Penn.	John Taylor, of Caro-
John Hart.	Rob't Wain, Jr.	Edw'd Rutledge.	Arthur Middleton.
Abraham Clark.	R. Wain, Jr.	Tho's Heyward, Jr.	J. Hamilton.
Robert Morris.	R. Wain, Jr.	Arthur Middleton.	H. M. Rutledge.
Benj. Rush.	J. Sanderson.	Button Guinnett.	Major H. M'Call.
Benj. Franklin.	J. Sanderson.	Lyman Hall.	Major H. M'Call.
John Morton.	R. Wain, Jr.	George Walton.	Major H. M'Call.
George Clymer.	R. Wain, Jr.	Thomas Lynch, Jr.	J. Hamilton, Jr.

The following letter from President Lincoln to Captain G. V. Fox, relating to the attempt to provision Fort Sumter, was exhibited to the meeting, and by the kind permission of Captain Fox a copy has been taken for the Proceedings:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 1, 1861.

CAPTAIN G. V. FOX.

MY DEAR SIR,—I sincerely regret that the failure of the late attempt to provision Fort Sumter should be the source of any annoyance to you. The practicability of your plan was not, in fact, brought to a test. By reason of a gale, well known in advance to be possible, and not improbable, the tugs, an essential part of the plan, never reached the ground; while, by an accident for which you were in no wise responsible, and possibly I to some extent was, you were deprived of a war vessel with her men, which you deemed of great importance to the enterprise.

I most cheerfully and truly declare that the failure of the undertaking has not lowered you a particle, while the qualities you developed in the effort have greatly heightened you, in my estimation. For a daring and dangerous enterprise of a similar character you would to-day be the man, of all my acquaintances, whom I would select.

You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter, even if it should fail; and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result.

Very truly your friend,

A. LINCOLN.

(Addressed) Capt. G. V. Fox.

The President then said:—

In looking over the interesting Report of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, at their semi-annual meeting last April, which I found on my table a few days ago, I was reminded of some old papers which have long slumbered in my possession.

That Report, written by Colonel John D. Washburn, of Worcester, deals at some length with what may be called the primitive poetry of New England. It makes honorable mention of the verses of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, as edited, and printed so beautifully, by the lamented John Harvard Ellis, and of Governor William Bradford's verses, as edited by Mr. Deane; and it says, also, all that well could be said in regard to the lines which Edward Johnson has so lavishly incorporated into his "Wonder-working Providence." It does not fail to notice, moreover, Morell's Latin poem on New England, and Governor Thomas Hinckley's elegy on Josiah Wins-

low, "the first Governor born in New England." But there seem to have been other poets, or would-be poets, in those days, besides the "Tenth Muse," as Anne Bradstreet was called, and Governors Bradford and Hinckley, and Edward Johnson. Among the old family papers now in my possession, there are no less than five elaborate Elegies, three of them on printed broadsides, with portentous black borders, and two of them in manuscript.

The earliest and best of them, though that is not saying a great deal, was by Percival Lowell, on the death of the first Governor Winthrop, in 1649. I have given this in the Appendix to the Governor's "Life and Letters." Then there are two, both printed with heavy mourning borders, on the death of John Winthrop, Jr., the Governor of Connecticut, in April, 1676. One of them is signed "B. Thompson," and the other is indorsed by Stephen Chester, Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1680.

Then comes an elegy, in manuscript, on the death of the same Governor Winthrop, signed "E. C.," but without any indication where it was composed, or for what name these initials stand.

And, finally, there is one on the death of the third Governor Winthrop,—commonly called, to distinguish him from his father, Fitz-John Winthrop,—in 1708, which purports to have been written by "an aged Sylvan," and is signed with the initials "B. T.," which undoubtedly stand for the same B. Thompson who was the author of one of the printed ones.

I do not propose to read a line of either of them, for there certainly is not a line worth reading or worth printing. But I exhibit them as characteristic of those early days, and as showing how the griefs of our fathers strove and struggled to express themselves in metrical and rhythmical form. They are like the old grave-stones in Gray's "Country Churchyard," and manifestly bespeak the "uncouth rhymes" and the "unlettered Muse" of the "rude forefathers" of New England.

I am not sure, indeed, that a more vivid idea could be given of the advance of culture and literature during the two centuries which have passed since these homely lines were penned, than by contrasting such doggerel as this with James Russell Lowell's grand Memorial Ode at Cambridge, and Holmes's charming lines on Halleck, and Longfellow's magnificent sonnet on Felton. Of the authors of these old elegies, one is the founder of that eminent Lowell family which has

been represented with distinction in almost every line of life during the last century, — legal, judicial, literary, clerical, mercantile, — and which has given at least twenty descendants of the same name to Harvard College.

Of Stephen Chester we know nothing, except that he was of an old Wethersfield, Connecticut, stock. Who "E. C." was, as I have said, I am entirely ignorant.

But Benjamin Thompson, the author of one of the printed, and one of the manuscript, elegies, was himself a graduate of Harvard in 1662; was a physician and a schoolmaster; Mr. Savage (in his *Genealogical Dictionary*) stating that he was master of the Boston Grammar School when Cotton Mather was a pupil. This will account, perhaps, for the fact that some of his verses in compliment to Mather are found printed in the introduction to the "*Magnalia Americana Christi*."

Dr. DEXTER said that, in his last visit to Amsterdam, he was fortunate enough to discover a volume — which seemed to be unknown to the Leyden archives — of forms of *application* for permission to marry. The forms were printed, and then filled out in writing, receiving the *autograph signatures* of the applicants. He thus obtained tracings of a few English autographs before, he thought, unknown. Among these were the autographs of Henricus Ainsworth, and others well known among the Amsterdam Brownists. He found also the signature of William Bradford, of a younger look than any he had seen before; also that of Dorothy May, his first wife. The banns between them had been published twice at Leyden but for some reason the marriage took place at Amsterdam, where this original request for a license is now preserved.

Mr. ELLIS AMES produced Governor Strong's private copy of the first edition of the Constitution of Massachusetts, with the Governor's copy of the statutes of the Commonwealth, from and including Oct. 25, 1780, up to and including March 25, 1783, — all in folio, and tied together, with the autograph of Governor Strong thereon; and, after observing that Governor Strong was one of the "barristers and attorneys of Massachusetts," who were addressers of Governor Hutchinson on his departure for England, proceeded to give a complete list of the addressers, as follows: * —

* This list may be seen in the Appendix to Curwen's "*Journal and Letters*," pp. 428, 429 (ed. 1842). A few additional names are given from authentic sources. — E. A.

Robert Auchmuty, of Boston.
Jonathan Sewall, of Charlestown.
John Worthington, of Springfield.
Samuel Fitch, of Boston.
James Putnam, of Worcester.
William Pynchon, of Salem.
Benjamin Gridley, of Boston.
Samuel Quincy, of Boston.
Abel Willard, of Lancaster.
Andrew Cazneau, of Boston.
John Lowell, of Boston.
Daniel Leonard, of Taunton.
Daniel Oliver, settled in Worcester County.
Samson Salter Blowers, of Boston.
Daniel Bliss, of Concord.

Jonathan Bliss, of Springfield.
Samuel Porter, of Salem.
Joshua Upham, of Brookfield.
Jeremiah D. Rogers, of Littleton.
David Ingersoll, of Great Barrington.
Shearjashub Bourne, of Scituate.
David Gorham, of Boston.
Samuel Sewall, of Boston.
John Sprague.
Rufus Chandler, of Worcester.
Thomas Danforth, of Charlestown.
Thomas Williams.
Caleb Strong, of Northampton.
Samuel Field.
Ebenezer Bradish, of Worcester.

The wealthier towns — particularly such as were situated upon the alluvial soil of the Connecticut River — contained a greater proportion than elsewhere of loyalists, of which Hatfield was an illustration, where a decisive majority of the voters were what, in the language of the times, were called Tories; and their votes and resolves were greatly applauded in England, and will now be found recorded in some of the English histories of the time. Their votes were quite the reverse of the votes of the town of Abington, for instance, whose patriotic resolves also attracted attention in Europe for the ability with which they were drawn.

Samuel Quincy had been solicitor-general of the province, and had a good law library containing the principal common-law treatises and the English law reports up to that time, as may be seen by the inventory of his effects made up by the committee of sequestration, when his estate, real and personal, including his library, was confiscated. Though the address of the barristers and attorneys to Hutchinson was in the spring of 1774, yet Governor Strong was elected representative of Northampton, and took his seat in the 2nd General Court of the Revolution, which met on the 31st day of May, 1776; and John Lowell was soon after elected a member of the Continental Congress from Massachusetts, and afterward one of the Massachusetts judges of admiralty, — for I well remember that the late Judge John Davis, District Judge of the United States for the District of Massachusetts, long a member of this Society, told me, in the winter of 1834, that the first court in session that he ever saw was an admiralty court held at Plymouth, about the year 1782, and that Judge Lowell was then and there presiding.

Though the eminent lawyers of that time mostly adhered to the British administration, yet some of the addressers above

named remained all their lives unmolested in the Commonwealth, and were citizens of great uprightness, integrity, and ability, and afterwards held very responsible positions in government and society.

It is very remarkable that some persons in the colonies, at first opposed to English rule, became Tories; and others, at first Tories, changed sides, and became active promoters of independence. Among the latter class was John Worthington, of Springfield, one of the executors of the will of Colonel Ephriam Williams, killed at the battle of Lake George, Sept. 8, 1755, who held the estate of Colonel Williams about thirty-seven years. He then rendered his account to the Legislature of Massachusetts of principal and interest, in a manner that would do the highest credit to a treasurer of any savings bank in these days; and, when the Legislature accepted his account, he paid over the amount, and Williams College at Williamstown was established by that fund, pursuant to the will of Colonel Williams and an act of the General Court.

Of Governor Strong, it will be remembered that he resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States to take the office of Governor of Massachusetts. Joshua Upham, of Brookfield, was the father of the late Hon. Charles Wentworth Upham, of Salem, formerly a member of this Society, and a distinguished historian. Of most of the addressers, the late Hon. Lorenzo Sabine has given a short memoir, in his work upon the Loyalists.

Mr. WATERSTON then said, —

It will be remembered that, eight years ago, the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Alexander von Humboldt was celebrated in this city. Literary and scientific men, by invitation of the Society of Natural History, assembled from various parts of the country, to listen to an address by Professor Agassiz.*

The distinguished speaker on that occasion had upon his desk, or near it, what he considered a precious memento, — a palm-branch which had been borne upon the coffin of Hum-

* A fact, adding practical importance to the Humboldt celebration, was the creation of the "Humboldt Scholarship." Over eight thousand dollars was subscribed on that occasion for the purpose of aiding young and needy students, while pursuing their preparatory studies at the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy in Cambridge. This sum now forms a permanent fund, the income of which is under the direction of the Faculty, and has been productive of great good. Mr. Theodore Lyman, the Treasurer, writes, "The fund is just what we need, and its value must always be of the first order."

holdt, or carried by a student in the solemn procession on the day of the funeral. This palm-branch was brought from Berlin by the President of this Society, the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, and was presented by him to Agassiz.

In conversing with Mr. Alexander Agassiz, a few days since, he stated that at the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, in Cambridge, there was no appropriate place for a relic of this description; and he proposed that it should be placed in the care of this Society, authorizing me to present it in his name.

At the reception of scientific gentlemen on the evening of the celebration, a portrait of Humboldt was presented to the Society of Natural History. This portrait had an added interest from the fact that it was painted by Mr. Wight, an American artist, at Berlin, after Humboldt had passed the age of eighty-three. To accompany the palm-branch, I herewith present a proof impression selected by the artist of an admirable steel engraving, taken from this portrait; also an autograph letter, written by Humboldt in his advanced age; together with a copy of the address by Louis Agassiz, delivered on the centennial anniversary of Humboldt's birth.

That interesting occasion was the last upon which Agassiz addressed any large assembly. Not long after, he was suddenly stricken down by illness, after which time any continued mental effort awakened apprehension of danger. It may not, therefore, be inappropriate to recall the earnestness with which our great Naturalist prepared himself for this discourse.

As chairman of the committee of arrangements, I was led to know of the conscientious manner in which that preparation was made.

When Agassiz's name was proposed, well do I remember the smile of Professor Jeffries Wyman, as he said, "Certainly, he is the man; but it is useless to expect him to do it." "Why?" I asked. "Because he has so much work on hand, that he will not accept; and, if he does accept, his responsibilities are such that I believe he will never give the address."

Yet such were Agassiz's relations to Humboldt, — having united in investigations with him as a youthful student, and being bound to him by ties of gratitude and affection, and knowing, as few men could, the vast work he had accomplished in the world of science, — he felt that the task proposed was one which he could not decline.

It was in the heat of midsummer, yet this did not intimidate him. There was illness in his family, but this did not hold him back. His son, exhausted by labor, was obliged to

leave home just at that time in the steamer for Europe. Yet here he felt was a duty which must be fulfilled.

In order to be free from interruption, he asked at the City Library if a room could be appropriated to himself, where he might call for such volumes as he should need, and keep himself secluded under lock and key. This desire was at once met; and for two weeks Agassiz was there, deeply engaged in his investigations, from nine o'clock in the morning until three o'clock, or later, in the afternoon.

Familiar with all Humboldt had written, a re-examination, he felt, was now called for. Every production which had come from Humboldt's pen must be critically considered. He must satisfy himself with the precise work which had been accomplished, and, taking nothing at second-hand, he must know just where, and to what extent, he had enlarged the boundaries of knowledge.

Mr. Winsor, at that time Superintendent of the City Library, informed me that more than two hundred volumes, in different languages, were examined by Agassiz; and so complete was the collection brought within his reach, that every book Humboldt had written was there, with the exception of one small pamphlet which had been out of print many years.

In a note from Mrs. Agassiz, dated June 8th, she says: "I could almost have wished this occasion had not arisen, for it alarms me to see the way in which work accumulates upon Mr. Agassiz, whose health is no longer as good as it used to be. It seems as if it would be easy for him to talk of Humboldt, and so, out of the fulness of his heart, it would; but on such an occasion the address must include a very careful review of all the facts of his life, of his relation to science through three quarters of a century; it must be accurate as well as comprehensive; and even Humboldt's most intimate friend could not prepare it without a good deal of care and research."

We see with what scrupulous fidelity the preparation was made. In a note which I received from him, September 4th, he says, "I have only yesterday finished gathering my materials, I have not yet begun preparing my address. My friends will never know what anxieties I have to go through on this occasion."

Six days after (September 10th), he writes: "I have succeeded this evening in bringing to a close my draft of an address." And he adds, "Not exactly as I would like to deliver it; but such as I may be compelled to read, should the

occurrences of the day unfit me for an extemporized discourse; which, I believe, might be more effective."

From this statement, we see that, having gone thoroughly over the whole field of investigation, he yet hoped to lay what he had written aside, and from the inspired earnestness of the moment give expression to the glowing convictions which would come to him at the time.

He felt, however, that under existing circumstances there would be some risk in such an attempt; and though those who knew his wonderful command of language, and his mastery in presenting with translucent clearness any topic, however difficult or abstruse, holding an audience, which he often did, as by some mysterious spell, may feel that he might safely have trusted himself without notes, as he so often had done on former occasions. Still, doubtless he chose wisely in relying upon what he had carefully elaborated, where every statement had been scrupulously weighed, and every epithet was not only felicitous, but the word selected from among all others to convey his sincere conviction.

Thus, a few days after, he writes that he shall "have his illegible manuscript" set in type, that he may himself "be able to read it." On the 13th of September, he wrote:—

"I hope I may have a proof of my address by the time I reach Boston to-morrow. My diagrams went to the Music Hall Saturday afternoon, with the palm-branch worn on Humboldt's funeral."

Those of us who heard that able address will, no doubt, recall it as an event most memorable. The discourse was a noble tribute from one great mind to another, where both alike had devoted with untiring energy every faculty, through all the years of life, to the study of nature and the acquirement of truth.

May we not feel that this palm-branch borne at the funeral of Humboldt, and brought from beyond the Atlantic as a memento to Agassiz, by whose side it rested while he delivered his centennial address, shall henceforth be associated both with Agassiz and Humboldt as the symbol of Victory and of Peace.

Mr. Winsor, late librarian of the Boston Public Library, confirmed Mr. Waterston's statements as to Mr. Agassiz's visits to the Library during the preparation of his address on Humboldt.

The President read a letter from Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, dated "Quincy, Dec. 18, 1877," communicating the proceed-

ings of the Washington Benevolent Society, relating to the Gorget of Washington, beautifully engrossed on leaves of parchment attached together in the form of a small book, in order that it should be deposited in the box containing the Gorget itself. The parchment had been temporarily mislaid at the time Miss Quincy, in June last, surrendered the Gorget to the Society agreeably to the bequest of her father, the late Honorable Josiah Quincy, in his last will. The proceedings of the Washington Benevolent Society, transcribed from this parchment, here follow:—

Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts.

At a quarterly meeting of the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts, on Tuesday evening, April 13, 1813, the Hon. Mr. Quincy delivered to the President the Gorget of Washington, being a part of his uniform, when, as a colonel in the service of the State of Virginia, he served under General Braddock, in the war of 1756; having the arms of that State engraven thereon.

Mr. Quincy said that this precious relic was presented to the Washington Benevolent Society, in the town of Boston, by Mrs. Martha Peter (formerly Custis), the lady of Thomas Peter, Esq., of Tudor Place, in the District of Columbia, the grand-daughter of General Washington; that this lady, as distinguished by her personal and mental accomplishments as by her illustrious relation, had been pleased to say "that she had received this Gorget, and the ribband attached to it, at the division of her grandfather's estate, and that she had selected the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts as the depository of this precious memorial, because she knew of no place where the principles of Washington had been more uniformly cherished than in the town of Boston, and thought nowhere was it likely to be prized higher or preserved longer than by this institution."

On motion of William Sullivan, Esq.,

Voted, That this Society receive with grateful sentiments the donation of Mrs. Martha Peter, the grand-daughter of the illustrious Washington,* presented this evening by the Hon. Mr. Quincy; and that the President, with such other persons as he may please to appoint, be a committee to express to that lady, in behalf of the Society, the emotions which her gift has inspired, and the veneration with which this precious relic shall be preserved.

The President then nominated the Hon. Mr. Quincy and the other Vice-Presidents of the Society to be of the aforesaid committee; and the same were approved accordingly.

Attest, WILLIAM COCHRAN, *Secretary*.

* She was the grand-daughter of Mrs. Washington. Her maiden name was "Martha Parke Custis," daughter of John Parke Custis, the only son of Mrs. Washington by her first husband. She was born 31st December, 1777, and was early married to Mr. Thomas Peter. — Eds.

Letter from the Committee of the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts to Mrs. Martha Peter.

Boston, 30 April, 1813.

MADAM, — The subscribers being a committee appointed by the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts, in pursuance of the accompanying proceedings and vote, have the honor to express in behalf of that Society the emotions which the precious relic you have been pleased to bestow has inspired, and the veneration with which it shall be preserved.

Be assured, Madam, that by none more than by the members of the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts could this memorial of your illustrious ancestor have been received with a purer devotion to his memory; nowhere could hearts have been found more disposed to appreciate the value of every thing which tends to revive the recollection of his many virtues and services, and to inspire a veneration for his example and maxims.

Deeply sensible of the honor conferred on this institution by this distinguished mark of your approbation and favor, we are, Madam, very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,

(Signed)

ARNOLD WELLES, *President.*

WILLIAM SULLIVAN,

JOSIAH QUINCY,

DANIEL MESSENGER,

JOHN C. WARREN,

BENJAMIN RUSSELL,

} *Vice-Presidents.*

Mrs. MARTHA PETER.

Copies of record of the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts. At a meeting of the Standing Committee, Jan. 21, 1817,

Voted, That Colonel Henry Sargent be a committee to have prepared a suitable box in which the Gorget shall be put, and the same shall be deposited in one of the banks for safe-keeping.

LEWIS TAPPAN, *Secretary.*

At an annual meeting, Feb. 17, 1818, the following vote was unanimously adopted: —

Voted, That the President be requested to cause a suitable inscription to be put on the box containing the Gorget of General Washington; and the doings of the Society in relation to the reception and preservation of this relic, to be inscribed on parchment, to be kept within the box; the same to be deposited in a vault of one of the banks in this town, and the key to be handed to his successor.

LEWIS TAPPAN, *Secretary.*

This is to certify that, in obedience to vote of the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts, of 17th February, 1818, the foregoing extracts are made from the Society's books and papers, to be deposited with the Gorget, forever to be preserved as an invaluable

relic of that illustrious soldier and statesman who was "first in War, first in Peace, and first in the hearts of his Countrymen."

Dated in Boston this twenty-second day of February, Anno Domini One thousand, eight hundred and eighteen.

JOSIAH QUINCY, *President.*

LEWIS TAPPAN, *Secretary.**

* By reference to the printed Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, at a meeting held at the house of Mr. Quincy, in April, 1858, it will be seen that Mr. Quincy there relates that, after the dissolution of the Washington Benevolent Society, the gorget was formally placed in his custody; that he immediately wrote to Mrs. Peter, offering to return the gorget to her; that "she was pleased to reply that it was her wish that I should retain it in my possession, and make such disposition of it as I saw fit." Mr. Quincy subsequently bequeathed this interesting relic to the Historical Society. See Proceedings for June, 1877, pp. 302, 303. — Eds.

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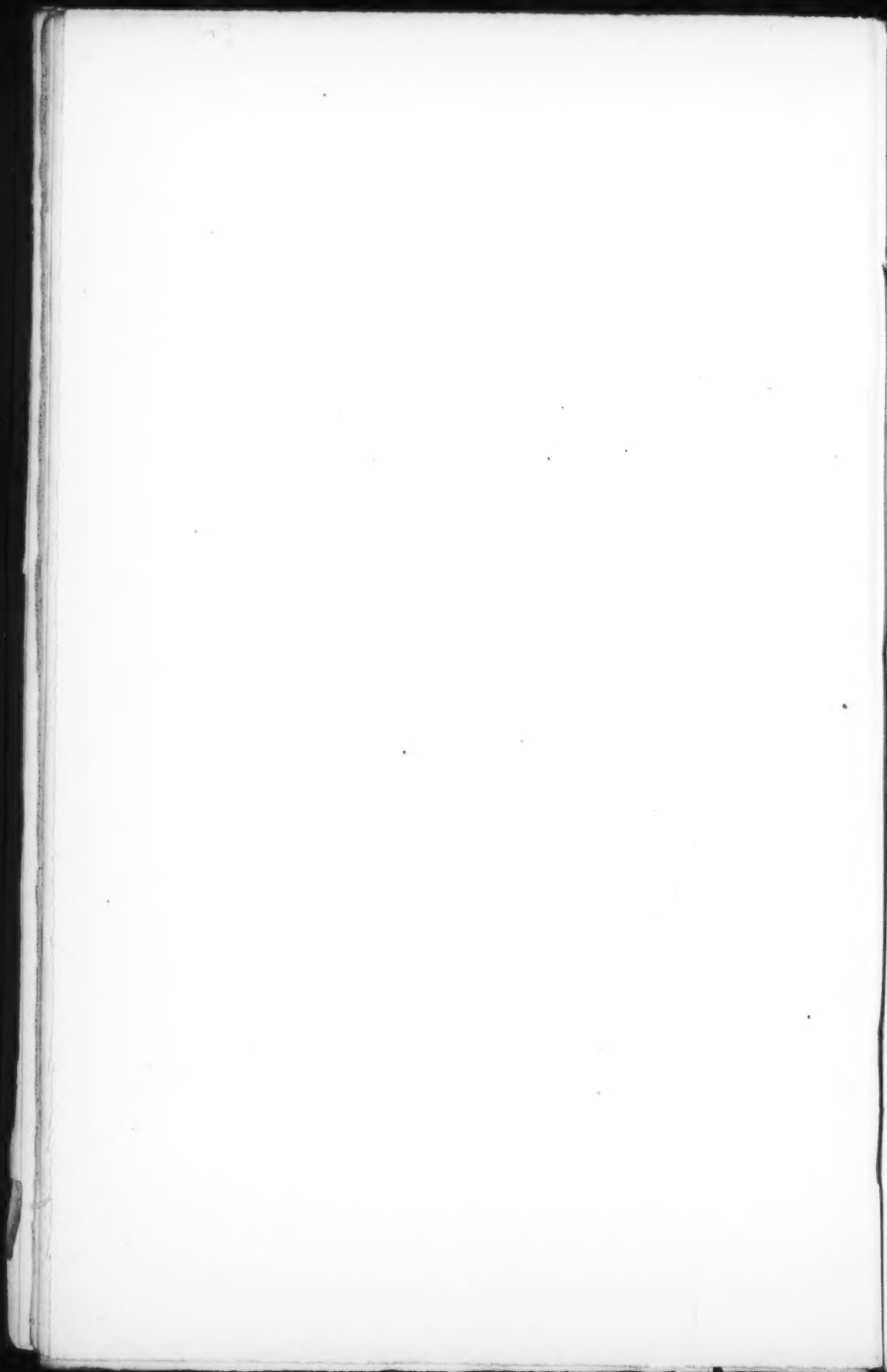
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